

NEW <sup>4</sup>  
MEMOIRS  
AND  
CHARACTERS  
Of the Two  
Great Brothers,  
THE  
DUE of *Bouillon*,  
AND  
Mareschal *TURENNE*.

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Written in *French* by *James de Langlade*,  
BARON of *Saumieres*.

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*Made English.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed by *T. W.* for *Tho. Bennet*, at the *Half-Moon* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1693.

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MEMOIRS  
AND  
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THE  
DUE OF BOMMON  
AND  
MARSHALL FOR ENNE

Written in French by ...  
1818-6223

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...  
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T O M Y

Honoured Friend

Sir *Edmund Warcupp*,  
of *Oxfordshire*, K<sup>t</sup>.

S I R;

I shall make you but a bad Return for Lending me these *Memoirs*, by sending them back in my *English*. However I did not think I could be too intent upon them, when the longer I read, and considered this *Book*, the Characters of two *such Brothers* as the Duke of *Bouillon*, and Marechal *Turenne*; raised in me a True and more Lively Idea of your *Sons*, the *Colonel*, and the *Captain*. It is true; that the *former* being

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*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

born *Princēs*, became Great *Generals*, but then they lived long in the World to obtain it : whereas the other *Two Brothers*, though cut off in their Bloom, had done more than any of such an Age could do, towards Equalling *their* Great Examples.

The Battle of *Sedan*, in which the Duke of *Bouillon* got his greatest Glory, has nothing more Considerable in it than the Action, by which he gained the Enemies Cannon : and, upon Reading this, who could not but have an Image of Colonel *Warcupp's* Bravery in the Battle of *Steynkirk*, where he drove the *French* from their Cannon, and laid his own Half-Pike upon them. In the same Battle when the Count *de Soissons* should have received the Advantage of the Victory, It is with Surprise that we find him dead. This naturally brings Captain

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

ptain *Warcupp* to our Remembrance, who, when *He* should have received the New Commands, which, for his Valour, the *King* designed Him, was (instead of enjoying the Reward) found mortally wounded in *His Majesty's* Service.

This, to a common Reader, may seem a melancholy and an improper Address to a *Father*, but then they must be Ignorant of the Greatness of Sir *Edmund Warcupp's* Mind, and his true Notions of Honour. *Lacedæmon* heretofore gloried in so great a Man as *Thrasibulus*, who, receiving his Son *Pitanas* dead upon a Shield in his Countrey's Service, Interred him with these Expressions: *Let other Fathers shed Tears; I'll not: This Youth died, like mine: Like a Spartan.*

*England* has Reason to boast of a Double Honour in Sir *Edmund Warcupp*, who with such an Evenness  
of

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

of Temper, and Heroick Patience, could bear the Loss of *Two Sons*, so Young, so Brave, so very much his own, and so true *English Men*.

As for my own part, were I to be a Father, I should wish for such Sons; and must they die! I would lose them after the same manner. And, I am sure, that in bearing of my Misfortune, I could have no better Pattern than your self. But, in the Circumstances I am in, at present, there is nothing I am more Ambitious of, than to be Admitted amongst the Number of,

*SIR,*

Your most Faithful Friends,

and Humble Servants,

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THE  
PREFACE.

**T**HE Memoirs, here Published, were Collected by the late James de Langlade, Baron of Saumieres, Secretary to the Council. They were found amongst his Papers after his Death; and there being some Imperfect Copies in the Hands of several Persons, who might have Printed them; his Widow, Madam de Langlade, thought it better to oblige the World with the Original; which has given Occasion to the present Edition.

MEMOIRS



MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
LIFE  
OF  
FREDERICK MAURICE  
*De la Tour d'Auvergne,*  
DUKE de BOVILLON

Here is no need of any Motive but Vanity alone to make the generality of Men commit to Writing such remarkable Passages as come to their Knowledge: For their aim is not only at present Glory, but the recommending of their Memory to future Ages. But as for my Self, I can protest, that these are not the Motives that induce me to the undertaking of these Memoirs. And that which makes me believe, that I give a sound judgment of my self, upon this occasion, is, that I had never began em, if I had not put an ex-

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## 2 MEMOIRS of the

stream violence upon my own Nature, and look'd upon the finishing of 'em as a duty indispensable. Let a Man take all the caution he can, there will happen out a thousand inconveniencies from such sort of undertakings. One of the wisest Men of our Age, and of the first Quality in the Kingdom, endanger'd his Family by the unfaithfulness of a Transcriber, and the malice of a Person that had corrupted him. Besides, let a Man have whatever design he please of writing only for himself, and letting nothing appear in publick till after his Decease, yet I see plainly, that ones Opinion often alters; and that either under the pretence of placing a great confidence in some Persons, or taking their advice, one willingly searches after Confidants, to the end that one may find Admirers; so that among the great number of Friends, whom our own self-Love or presumption makes choice of in these Encounters, one always finds some indiscreet and unfaithful Person or other, who reveals such disagreeable truths as will never admit of Pardon: and it is impossible, without speaking of several Persons, to write the Memoirs of a Man's Life who bore the principal part in so many great Transactions. Besides, to speak conformably to my own inclinations, I should chuse any other employment rather than this, to fill up that idle time which my misfortunes for some years last past have thrown upon my hands. But the Memory of the Duke de Bouillon is so dear to me, and I have so great a veneration for it, that I daily reproach my self for having so long defer'd the publishing of what I know concerning so great a Person.

I have

I have endeavour'd, but without Effect, to learn something of his Infancy; for I should have been willing to have spoken of it; being perswaded, by several Observations I have made, That generally even in that tender Age of Mankind, there are some lights given towards the discovery of what may afterwards be expected from them. And when-ever those to whom the care of their Education is committed, are deficient in the Knowledge of their Capacity, the Qualifications of their Mind, their Genius; and, in short, their peculiar Inclinations, and their Nature in general; it must be either for want of Light or Application. Nor do I doubt but that we are often led, either to good or evil, and indeed to any sort of business, according to the first Impressions and Examples that are given us. Upon this very account, I cannot sufficiently wonder at the little Care that is taken in the Education of Children. For whether we regard Religion, as becomes every true Christian, or consult humane Prudence only; I think there is nothing in the World, that is of equal Consequence. I know some Tempers appear so manifest, and their Inclination to evil is so violent, that it is almost impossible to alter them; but there are very few, that by great Care and due Management may not be retrieved, if we begin to set about it betimes. You see how *Seneca* and *Pyrrhus* were for some time able to prevail over the cruel Inclinations of *Nero*. They might, perhaps, have made an honest Man of him, if, as a private Person, he had been subject to the Laws, and oblig'd to raise a Fortune by his Virtuous Actions: But the Great-

ness of his Birth, placing him above any thing that he might be afraid of, and beyond any thing he could farther desire, he followed the whole Current of his wicked Inclinations. But, I perceive, That my Discourse has already ran too far upon a Subject, which has no very great Relation to the Matter which I propose to Treat of.

THE

THE  
First B O O K.

Frederick Maurice *de la Tour d'Auvergne*,  
*was Son of Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne*,  
*Duke of Bouillon, Sovereign of Sedan, by*  
*Isabella of Nassau,*

IT would be unnecessary for me to speak of the House of the Duke of *Bouillon*; All *France* knows, That both for its Antiquity, and the Grandeur of its Original, it is one of the most Illustrious among the Chief Families in the Kingdom: And Strangers are well enough inform'd of it by their frequent Alliances with the Principal Families of *Europe*, and by the Sovereignties of *Bouillon* and *Sedan*, which fell into it in the last Age,

I shall say but very little likewise of the Duke *de Bouillon*, during his Minority, because I have not so exact Memoirs, as I could have desired, and I will advance nothing, which I have not seen, or am very well assured of.

He completed his Studies at *Sedan*, where Mr. *du Moulin*, the Minister, was his Tutor; a Man very much esteem'd for his Learning. He bred him up in the Reformed Religion, the

Duke, his Father, and his Mother, being both Protestants. His first Journey from thence, was into *Holland*, when he was about sixteen Years old. This Countrey was then the Seat of War, and in the Opinion of all the World, the best School to learn that Art in.

His Uncle, the Prince of *Orange*, who was esteemed one of the greatest Generals of his Time, made him begin with a Colours in the Regiment of *Maison-Neuve*.

I have heard say, That, at first, there appeared little extraordinary in him, and that indeed he was something slow in displaying himself. He spoke little, kept himself reserv'd, and among his own Domesticks. But at last he made himself sufficiently known, and gain'd a great Reputation, as soon as he began to have some Understanding in the Affairs of War, and the Countrey. This show'd, That his Silence, and Inclination to so peculiar a Reservedness, proceeded only from his extraordinary Natural Parts, which would not suffer him to speak of things without understanding them.

He then became Curious to that degree, that he was inquisitive about ev'ry thing, and search'd into the Niceties of the smallest Matters, that he might know 'em thoroughly. But in satisfying his Curiosity, he never apply'd himself, but to such Persons with whom he was most familiar. He then permitted himself to make a small sally towards the Pleasures of Youth; and, amongst the rest, that of frequent Entertainments, in which, though He was always magnificent, yet it was without Excess.

In a short time he became active and vigilant, and familiar even to Popularity, when it suited with his Designs: a Talent, which I have seen him make an admirable Use of, in the following Course of his Life, upon very important Occasions.

The Prince of *Orange*, seeing him thus altered, and finding, that he had a strong Propensity to War; began to take a little more Care, in informing him. He commanded him out, upon all Occasions, where any thing might be learn'd, or any Honour gain'd. The Duke de *Bouillon* answered his Designs and Hopes with that Advantage; that I have heard him then commend him to divers Persons, for having signaliz'd his Courage and Conduct in several Encounters.

One of the most Considerable was at *Boisleduc*. The Prince of *Orange* having besieg'd it, the long Resistance, which the Garrison made, had so weakned and dispirited his Army, that, not thinking himself able to hinder a Convoy, which the Enemy were sending, from entering the Town; there was a Resolution taken secretly in the Council to raise the Siege. The Duke of *Bouillon* having Notice of it, earnestly requested, That he might be permitted to go and encounter this Convoy. He laid before the Prince of *Orange* the Methods, by which he would be guided in this Design. The Prince finding they had been extreamly well contriv'd, propos'd 'em to the Council, where it was resolv'd, That the Event of 'em should be try'd. In Pursuance of this, the Duke took such Troops as he had demanded; He led them, by an ex-

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traordinary March, to find the Enemy in a place where he had projected before to fight 'em, because it was very advantagious to himself. There he attack'd 'em, defeated 'em, took their Commander Prisoner, and brought the Convoy, which was design'd for the Relief of the Place, into the Prince of *Orange's* Camp.

This Action rais'd the Duke to a great Reputation, and began to make him look'd upon as an Extraordinary Man. He gain'd the Hearts of the Soldiery, by the Opinion they conceived of his Courage, and his great Genius for Warlike Affairs; but more especially by that Natural Goodness which appear'd in all his Actions, by his Modesty, in speaking of himself, and his Familiarity, when he did not command them. He had a good Mien, but could not be said to be handsome. He was proper, had a high Forehead, his Eyes full and sparkling; Eye-brows large and thick, but at a convenient distance. There was nothing rough either in his Mind or Humour; yet something great and fierce both in his Air and Tread. He knew even the smallest Officers, and, that they might not be ignorant of it, he affected to call 'em by their Names: a way of treating Inferiours, very politick and becoming a great Lord.

The States General, and those of the Province, could not long continue silent in his Praises; which we may look upon as the more sincere, because they grounded them upon their own glory and advantage; for this incident caus'd *Boisleduc* to be Surrendred, which was a place very important to them, and added much to the reputation of their Arms. They began



to reward the Services of the Duke of *Bouillon* with the Government of *Mastricht*, which they gave him. The Prince of *Orange* show'd great satisfaction in all these Proceedings, though perhaps he wou'd not have beheld 'em without uneasiness and jealousy, if they had not rais'd thoughts in him suitable to his own Interests. He was now very old, and had but one Son, and he in the Cradle, so that not hoping to be able to live long enough to see him of a sufficient Age to fill his Place, and finding all People well affected to the Duke of *Bouillon*, he look'd upon him as a Man in whose hands he might deposite the Government of the States upon his own Decease; and to link him still more closely to him than he was already by his Relation, as a Nephew, he resolv'd to make him his Son-in-Law, but he thought it Prudence to wait another opportunity to declare this to him.

Things stood in this condition, when in Carnival time, the Troops being in Winter Quarters, the Duke of *Bouillon* would go *incognito* to see *Brussels*. This Journey which he undertook at first as a thing indifferent, only for diversion, and to satisfy his Curiosity, did afterwards change the whole Scheme of his Fortune, and by a train of accidents became the source of all the happiness and misfortunes of his Life. So that it is every day apparent, that the Fate of the greatest Men and most flourishing States, turns upon things which at first view seem of no consequence, and we often find, that if that which we ardently desire had happen'd, we should be miserable; whereas all our happiness often proceeds from this, That the things we are afraid of come to pass

pass in spite of us. Notwithstanding all this, we never leave projecting, and attributing the good success to our selves, though we are often ignorant of the Causes, and can never foresee the effects. If to such evident demonstrations of our Vanity, and the weakness of our Understandings, we do but add those thoughts which we ought to have as good Christians, we should undoubtedly show more Courage when we ly under unhappy Circumstances, because we should see the hand of God in them: and we should have less uneasiness while our designs are depending, because we should never frame any but with an entire submission to the Disposal of Providence.

One of the most splendid Courts in *Europe*, was at *Brussels*, when the Duke of *Bouillon* came thither. The Duke of *Orleans* had retreated thither, and had been follow'd by some Persons of the first Quality in the Kingdom, and a great Number of the Nobility. The *Infanta Isabella* likewise had drawn thither the Principal Families of the *Low Countries*, of which she was Governess. Here it was, That the Duke of *Bouillon* saw *Mademoiselle de Bergh*, at a Ball. She was a Person of great Birth, of a surprizing Beauty, had the Reputation of much Wit and Prudence, but a *Catholic*, and without any Fortune. The Duke of *Bouillon* having learn'd her Name, found that she was his Relation; but there was a Motive, stronger than that of Blood, which made him ambitious of being known to her before his Departure. The Visits which he made her, engag'd him still farther. However he departed, without speaking of the Impressi-  
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on she had made upon his Soul, though she easily perceiv'd it. The Report of this Passion, was soon spread in *Holland*, by those who had born him Company to *Brussels*: and because no one could imagine that it would come to a Marriage, for abundance of Reasons, which destroyed the very Thoughts of such a thing; People spoke of it only as the Adventure of a Traveller, and that before his Face. But soon after he return'd to *Brussels*, in very great danger, and upon a slight Pretence. This second Journey, made it apparent, That the Duke was more in Love, than he was thought to be. At his Arrival he found a Discourse of a Match between *Mademoiselle de Bergh*, and the Count de *Bossu*. Honour and Jealousie join'd themselves with Love, and forc'd the Duke to declare his Designs of Marriage. He return'd by the way of *Sedan*, to propose it to the Dutchess his Mother. But she was the more averse to it, because she knew her Brother, the Prince of *Orange*, had design'd him for one of his Daughters, who was afterwards married to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*: Besides his Mother had always resolv'd he should marry one of her own Religion, and indeed he might have had his Choice of any Protestant Lady in *France*, nor had he been a Match below any Foreigner.

Upon his Return to *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange*, and his real Friends, us'd all their Endeavours to perswade him from this Marriage, and he, having Spirit and Ambition enough, often attack'd himself with very potent Arguments. But these contributed only to his Uneasiness: For when Absence and Difficulties can't efface the

the first Impressions of Love, they render the Passion so strong, That nothing can be able to change it.

When the Duke of *Bouillon* had continued about a Year in this Condition; his Mind in suspense, and his Soul divided, by the Opposition which his Love made to his Fortune; he at last fix'd his Resolution, and the Dutches his Mother, and the Prince of *Orange*, having not been able to hinder the Marriage, were forced to approve it, when it was consummated. Love has often made the greatest Men neglect the Advantages which Fortune has offer'd them, and that in a much riper Age than the Duke of *Bouillon* was yet arriv'd to. I shall speak but one Word in his Favour, and to the Honour of his Dutches, That I verily believe he never repented his having married her. The Duke having tarried some time at *Sedan*, whither he immediately carried his Lady, went with her into *Holland*, and there Beauty and Merit gain'd so far the Ascendant, That every one approv'd the Choice, which they had before so much condemn'd.

From the *Hague* the Duke *de Bouillon* went to *Mastricht*, to give his Orders, as Governour, and afterwards returned to *Sedan*, with a Design to tarry there some time. His first business was, to gain an exact Insight into his own Concerns, which he effected with the greater Ease, because never Man did things in better Order. This appeared even in the smallest Matters: It was not in his Power to look over 'em superficially, as Persons of Quality generally do, who think it a Vertue, to place a blind Confidence in their  
 Servants,

Servants, and never perceive their own Ruine, till it is past Remedy: As for him, he saw and examined all, yet without that Spirit of Meanness, by some call'd good Husbandry, into which Men often fall by too great Exactness: so near to one another are Vertues and their opposite Vices.

But as for these lesser Affairs, they were instantly laid aside, when more Important Business requir'd his Attendance. He was very industrious, but the pains he took were never uneasy to him. He never retreated at the Prospect of any Labour, how great soever it might be, either of Body or Mind; but indeed he was the same in every thing; he would be so intent upon his very Diversions, that one would think he had been made to pursue them only. In private Company he had so complaisant an Air, and would relax his Mind so far, that it would then be hard to perceive his more Noble Qualities: and yet to have seen him upon some great and publick Action, one would have thought it impossible for him to reduce himself to a private Station, though this was easie to him when-ever he thought it necessary.

His Affairs at *Sedan*, were not so many as to take up all his time, so he applied himself to reading, and having fallen upon *Calvin's Works*, his Mother was extremely pleased with it, being confident, That they would be a means to confirm him in his Religion. But when she saw, that from reading he pass'd to doubting, and from Doubts to a Desire of having them clear'd, she began to take the Alarm, especially when she was told by *du Moulin*, That the Duke had

had propos'd to him the holding a Conference in his Presence, with a certain Religious Person, who was thought to be very well vers'd in the Controversie: then she beg'd of him to relinquish that Design, and demonstrated to him both her Grief and Fears.

The Duke of *Bouillon* had always had a great Tenderness and Respect for his Mother, and his Fear of disobliging her, was the greater and more just, because he had so much displeas'd her with his Marriage.

These Considerations delay'd the Conference for some time, though the Duke did ardently desire it, because *du Moulin* had urg'd several things against the Catholick Religion, which the Duke of *Bouillon* was not able to answer. He spent some Months in these Circumstances, but being no longer able to lie under such Uncertainties, in an Affair of so great Consequence, he Resolv'd, to be plain with *du Moulin*, and to speak to him as his Prince. He told him then, That he would propound his Doubts in the Presence of the Father he had propos'd before, and another understanding Person, that he had sent for to *Sedan*: but he charg'd him, Not to let his Mother have any intimation of it. There were several secret Conferences held, after which the Duke was perfectly convinced of the Errours of his Perswasion. He made his Abjuration of it, but it was in private, that he might not offend his Mother; hoping, by this Management, to endeavour, in time, to bring her over to the Knowledge of the Truth. He set himself to this, with all the Application imaginable; and we may imagine he would leave nothing undone,

done, in so important an Affair, whose Success would spare him so much Trouble.

It would be too tedious for me to relate here, what pass'd after this, during the space of two Years, in which he continued to gain farther Light and more ample Instructions. I shall only say this, That I believe, No Man of his Quality was ever better instructed, or more perswaded of his Religion.

In the mean time, he receiv'd Advice, That the *Spaniards* were marching to *Mastricht*, with a Design to besiege it. He was to lose no time, but immediately to throw himself into the Town. He departed the same moment, but found it invested. However, by good Fortune, he got in, though not without Danger. He defended it with a great deal of Bravery, and signaliz'd himself by frequent Sallies: so that the Prince of *Orange* having gain'd time to join his Troops, and to march, the Enemy, upon his Approach, immediately rais'd the Siege.

In this Place the Duke of *Bouillon* met with *Beringhien*, for whom he had a great Esteem and Friendship. He was a Man of Worth: Cardinal *Ricblien* had banish'd him, because he was in Favour with *Lewis the XIIIth.* and because He had not only a great deal of Loyalty, but as much Bravery and Conduct.

The Duke of *Bouillon* made him the Confident of his Abjuration; and withal, told him, That to the present minute he had kept it as a great Secret, because of the Dutche's his Mother; but that, seeing (though not without extreme Concern) neither Time, nor any thing else that he could do, would retrieve her from her

Errours,



Errours, he was upon the point of declaring himself to her, and professing publicly the Catholick Religion, when he receiv'd the News, That the Enemy was marching to *Mastricht*. He added, That there was but one onely Reason, which could possibly induce him to delay it longer, which was his Suspicion, lest in the present Conjunction, the News of his Abjuration might raise some Jealousies in the States and Prince of *Orange*; but that, as soon as he should come to *Sedan*, he would declare, and send them a Resignation of their Government, and the Command he had in their Cavalry, which he did the first moment after his Return.

The great Affliction of his Mother, the Dutchess, cannot be express'd. Nor was the Grief and Indignation of the whole Family any less. The City of *Sedan*, inhabited by Protestants, chang'd the Love they bore him into a secret Hatred. He lost all his Posts in *Holland*, and renounc'd his greatest Expectations. In short, upon the sole Respect he had to his future Salvation, he resisted all humane Considerations, and pass'd by all the Advantages of his Fortune. So many great Difficulties, which he foresaw well enough, and knew they must be surmounted, might easily let us see the Vigour of his Mind, and the Grandeur of his Courage; unless the Conversion of Mens Hearts is to be attributed to God alone.

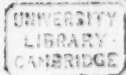
Some time after the Duke of *Bouillon* had declar'd his Abjuration, he came to Court. He knew it not, nor was he known there, but by his Reputation. His Design was to follow the Interest of *France*, where he had large Demesnes, and

and his chief Inclination being to War, that against *Spain*, which had continued some Years, seem'd to open a way both to his Glory, and his Fortunes.

The Cardinal *Richlieu* was then at the highest Pitch of his Grandeur. He was a great Minister, who, as all others do, ow'd the beginning of his Fortune to a favourable Conjunction, but the Settlement and Consequences of it were the Work of his own Wit and Conduct. He had always great Designs: and never troubled himself with any, but the most important Affairs of State; that he might have more time for his Diversions and Repose. He govern'd the State with an Absolute Power, but yet without governing the King, who, on the contrary, hated him at the bottom. But the good success of his Administration, and the sure Establishments he had made himself; set him beyond the Effects of Hatred. However, there was always some Favourite, who, not being sufficiently devoted to him, still gave occasion to Cabals in the Court, and the Intrigues of the Closet: and these, join'd with the fresh Example of the Death of Marshall *d'Ancre*, caus'd great Disquietness to him. He spar'd nothing to gain Persons of Merit over to him, or to ruine 'em, when he could not gain them. And no Minister was ever better informed of what pass'd both within and without the Kingdom. Should one judge of him by his Countenance, and outward Appearance, nothing could be expected but an extraordinary Sweetness. Whereas he was violent in all his Desires; and Love and Hatred never had a fuller power over a great Man, to make him act as they pleas-

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fed. Many of the most considerable Incidents of his Life, had one or other of these two Passions for their Foundation. He was very sensible of Friendship, but never pardon'd a declared Enmity. So his Ministry was terrible to Persons that were not in his Interests. For as those he confided in might aspire to any thing, so there was nothing but what his Enemies had Reason to be afraid of. All the great Lords that would not submit to him were in Prison, banished, or out of favour. In short, either forc'd by the necessity of the times, or his own Nature, he always chose rather to establish the Security of his Person and Fortune by Rigour and Blood, than to run the hazard of good Nature and Clemency.

The Duke of *Bouillon* made no long stay at *Paris*. He was well receiv'd by the King, and all the Court. The *Count de Soissons* visited him often, and upon all occasions treated him with a distinction, which shew'd his peculiar Esteem, and a Desire of having him for his Friend. But they parted without entring upon any matter that was considerable. The Cardinal and the Duke saw one another often, but there were such Oppositions between 'em, that it was not easie to link 'em in any strait Union.

The Cardinal was for none but such as were wholly devoted to him: and the Duke of *Bouillon* was not made for Servitude; he was born a Sovereign, and had pass'd his Life in a free Country. Besides, the Commands in the Army were full, which were the only Things that could oblige him. So he return'd, having only a general Knowledge of the Court, and without any reason to praise or find fault with the Cardinal: but

but with a Mind not much disposed to comply with his way of Governing.

Some time after, the Count of *Soissons* retir'd to *Sedan*, to withdraw himself from the Effects of the Cardinal's Hatred.

Common Fame has published several things as the Causes of their Disagreement; but all the World agree, That if the Prince would have married *Madam de Combalet*, Niece to the Cardinal, he had design'd things so great for him, That a Man would scarce venture to speak, and which would very hardly be believ'd.

The Duke of *Bouillon* dispatch'd a Gentleman to Court, to give the Cardinal advice of the Arrival of *Monsieur* the Count; and to intreat the King, not to take it ill, that he had afforded a Retreat to a Prince, who, he thought, had committed nothing which might displease him, and in whom he could find none but honourable Intentions of serving him.

The King approv'd the Duke of *Bouillon's* Conduct, and the Cardinal wrote him word, That his Majesty thought fit, that *Monsieur* the Count should continue at *Sedan*. But some time after, the Negotiations not having produc'd the Effects which the Cardinal expected from them, he would have the Duke de *Bouillon* abandon the Prince, and make him depart from *Sedan*. The Duke of *Bouillon* excus'd himself, and answer'd, That the King having once approv'd of the Prince's Stay there, he thought he might give his Word to him, for his undoubted Security without limitation of Time: That such an Engagement to a Prince of the Blood, did not leave him at the Liberty of proposing such a thing to

the Count, as his Retirement: That he pray'd him to consider these Reasons, and be pleas'd to apply himself to his Majesty, to gain his Approbation likewise: That he hop'd the rather for this Favour from him, because he could assure him, That *Monsieur* the Count preserv'd inviolably all that Fidelity and Respect which was due from him to his Majesty: And that he saw him very much dispos'd to come sincerely to an Accommodation. In short, he was there at that time. But *Monsieur* the Count being weak and self-conceited, when he did not make himself stubborn by Distrust or Fear, he became so by his Vanity, and Hopes for which he could have no foundation: besides he had no Person near him that was fit for Business, which was the greater Misfortune to him; because, for the generality, even the greatest Men don't maintain their Grandeur so much by their own, as the prudent use they make of other Mens Counsels. So this Prince being thus reduc'd to the Guidance of his own Inclinations, was so uncertain in his Resolutions, that he never was of the same mind for two whole days together.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Bouillon* was not ignorant of the Consequences which might attend this refusal he had made, of ordering the Count to retire from *Sedan*. He knew also the Irresolution of the Prince: he thought that he had Honour and Justice on his side; and, at least, the concern he had for his own Reputation, was sufficient to hinder him from doing any thing that might blemish it. However it was, finding himself engag'd, and seeing his own Ruine at hand, he resolv'd to close with the Prince,

to endeavour to fix him to some one design. He told him then that in the condition things were, whatever side he would take, there was no time to be lost in it; that if he would fall in with the Cardinal, he should not stay till the beginning of the Campaign, when the accommodation would become more difficult, and not so advantageous, or honourable, because it would seem to have been forc'd. That on the contrary, if things were past reconciliation between 'em, he must resolve upon an open War, and take measures proper to maintain it. That for himself he would not counsel him on either side, not desiring in so important an Affair to be Guarantee for its Event: That he had no reason to be discontented with the Court: that at present he had no manner of pretensions there: but that being resolv'd to hazard all things for his Interests, it was necessary to consider what might happen in case they should take Arms: That he had not alter'd his resolutions, but on the contrary, would confirm whatever Promises he had made him; and that he beseeched him to believe that nothing was able to stir him: But that he had no mind to let himself be Besieg'd in *Sedan*; that he knew a great many Troops were drawn out upon the Frontiers, and that if he would not come to Agreement with the Cardinal, he should put himself into a condition of being in the Campaign as soon as ever the Season would permit.

Whether *Monsieur* the Count found himself this day more dispos'd to determine for War, than he was the day before; or whether he were pusht forward by the Duke's Reasons, and the renewing of his Promises, He at last assur'd him,

that he would come to no Terms with the Cardinal; and to shew him, that for his part he would hearken to nothing, he propos'd to him a Treaty with the Emperour and the Spaniards.

The Duke *de Bonillon* saw plainly, that by their Succours it was impossible to set an Army on Foot that should be able to resist the Kings, and to hinder the Siege of *Sedan*, or the ravaging of the Country. Nevertheless one day, that He might let the Prince recollect, that it was not he had lead him a march of so great consequence, he took occasion to lay before him all the mischiefs that were to be expected. It is not to be doubted, said he, but that the Emperour and the Spaniard will agree to all the Proposals, that shall be made them on our side. 'Tis their common Policy to agree to every thing till You are Imbarkt in their Affairs, and afterwards to stand to nothing but what is advantagious to themselves: they will easily give some Money to begin the War, and send Troops to maintain it for the present; but afterwards they'll take care their Words and their Engagements shall be no burthen to them; they will support us only to make Diversions, and facilitate their other designs: but their interest and ours will always be opposite at the bottom: It is ours to endeavour to enter *France*, to ruine the Fortunes of the Cardinal: we must look for our Security and advantage in a Peace, and the Establishment of a new Ministry; They on the contrary, would have our condition beyond retrieving, and this Ministry to subsist to be a perpetual Cause of division and trouble, which they may work their ends



ends by. But if we should be so unhappy, as to be forc'd to give our selves intirely up to them, as it must happen, if we be not succour'd from within the Kingdom, or upheld by some great Success; the War, which we have undertaken, beginning to be reduc'd to a common War, You will become a Charge to 'em, by reason of Your Quality; and when they have no Consideration for You, you may quickly judge whether they will have any for me.

*Monsieur the Count* was not shocked by all these Reasons; the fear of the Cardinal made him dread nothing else but the falling into his hands. They concerted therefore what were their present Interests, and all that they had to do: They made a double Instrument, which both of them sign'd; in which, among other things, they promis'd never to treat separately. Afterwards they sent to the Emperor, and the Cardinal Infant who commanded in *Flanders* for the *Spaniards*. The Duke of *Bouillon*, for his part, sent the Baron *de Beauveau*, a Man of great Quality, and of a Conduct and Courage which made him always contemn Fortune, and dangers. At the same time the Duke of *Guise* flying likewise from the Cardinal's Persecution, came to *Sedan*, and finding things in this posture, desir'd, That he might enter into the same Alliances, with the Emperor and *Spaniards*, as the Prince, and the Duke *de Bouillon*. He gave *Beauveau* powers to treat for him: but afterwards, impatient to wait for his return, or rather push'd on by the Antipathy, which *Monsieur the Count* had to him, he went to *Brussels*, under pretence of labouring to further the Treaty by his presence.

He was a Prince well-shap'd, liberal and magnificent. He had a great deal of Courage, and seem'd to have as much Wit. He was then very young, and so they attributed to his Age his great Inconstancy, and several other things, which were blameable in his Conduct. But the Actions of his whole Life having been always Youthful, there is reason to believe, That at the bottom these Faults proceeded from his Nature, and not from his Age.

Whilst *Monsieur* the Count attended the Success of this Negotiation, he sent secretly into *France*, to endeavour to raise Money from his Estate, and to establish a Correspondence with the Cardinal's Enemies. They were strong, and in great number, but they were dejected, not only by reason of his Power, and the frequent Examples of his Revenge and Punishments: But rather, because Treachery being sure to meet with a Reward, all Confidence seem'd to be banish'd from among Men: and so were absolutely perswaded, That there could be no Security in the most secret Transactions. As for the People, they were universally dispos'd to a Revolt: for in all times, a long Ministry, let it be good or bad, will procure their Hatred, and whether it proceed from their natural Inconstancy, or their real Misery, they always place their Hopes in a Change.

In the mean time, the Cardinal order'd great Magazines to be made upon the Frontiers, for the Subsistence of the Army, that it might be sooner than ordinary in the Field.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, for his part, began to prepare for the War, and all the Consequences  
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of it, that he could fore-see. He made 'em work upon the Fortifications of *Sedan*, and furnished the Town and Castle with all things requisite for a long Siege. He engag'd several Officers, both Horse and Foot, whom he had seen serve in *Holland*, and made Levies in the Countrey of *Liege*, with which he reinforc'd the Garrison.

Things were in this Posture about the End of *May*, when the Baron of *Beauveau* came to *Sedan*, with as ample a Treaty as they could desire, sign'd by the Cardinal Infant for the Emperour and the King of *Spain*.

The Emperour promis'd Seven thousand Men, and the Archduke as many for the *Spaniard*; and these two Bodies join'd together, were to rendezvouze near *Sedan* in the Month of *June*.

The *Spaniards* likewise engag'd to send Two hundred thousand Crowns, to make new Levies, or to be employ'd as *Monsieur* the Count, and the Duke de *Bouillon* should judge most proper for their Designs. But the *Spaniards* gave but one half of the Money which they had promised. Nor did they send that in the time they were oblig'd to, and they fail'd intirely as to the Troops. The Emperour perform'd his part; he sent General *Lamboy* with Seven thousand Men which he was to furnish. During this, the Marechal de *Chatillon* came into the Field towards the end of *May*, and advanced towards *Sedan*, as if he would invest it, but he return'd by the way of *Monzon*, without attempting any thing.

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The Duke *de Bouillon* seeing him so near, and judging, that nothing was to be expected from the *Spaniards*; propos'd to the Prince the sending to *Lamboy*, to make him draw nearer. *Lamboy* answer'd, That he had no Orders to pass further without the *Spanish* Troops. *Monsieur* the Count and the Duke sent back to him, to propose a Place for a Conference with him. He accepted it; and the Duke of *Bouillon* went to meet him. He endeavour'd to make him understand, of what Importance it would be, to let *France* see, That they had an Army near enough to *Mareschal de Chatillon*, to be able to oppose his Designs. But seeing he could not move him, by Reasons drawn from the common Interest, and that he had detach'd the Troops of his Army to send towards *Aire*; he declar'd to him, at last, That *Monsieur* the Count and he would go, and make what Terms they could, unless he drew nearer to *Sedan*, and engag'd to enter *France* with them, after they had join'd all their Forces.

*Lamboy*, seeing things in this Extremity, chang'd his Resolution; promis'd to march, and to be in the Neighbourhood of *Sedan*, within three days, with his Troops.

The Duke *de Bouillon* sent a Gentleman immediately to *Monsieur* the Count, to acquaint him with the Success of his Negotiation, and staid himself behind, that he might send down the Boats he found upon the *Meuse*, to make a Bridge there, to avoid the letting *Lamboy's* Army pass through *Sedan*. When he had set them at work about it, *Monsieur* the Count came to him,

him, under pretence of seeing what they did. The Duke of *Bouillon* having entertained him some time, with the Discourse of their Affairs, had no great difficulty to discover, that some other Motive brought him thither. He found his Mind so possess'd with the Thoughts of an Accommodation, That though he was satisfied before of his proneness to change, yet he was surpriz'd at it, and could not forbear telling him so. *Monsieur* the Count told him, That since he parted to go to the Rendezvous of *Lamboy's* Army, he had receiv'd a Letter from the Duke of *Longueville*, his Brother-in-Law, which seem'd to open a Passage to a Negotiation between the Cardinal and him, and judging, that in this Conjunction they had all the Reason in the World to fear the Difficulties which *Lamboy's* Approach might put them to; he thought it was Prudence to let himself appear more irreconcilable than ordinary: that he had sent a Gentleman, that he could confide in, to the Duke of *Longueville*, and that, till he was return'd, he would endeavour to keep *Lamboy* on the other side the *Meuse*. The Duke of *Bouillon* answer'd him, That the making such a Proposal to *Lamboy* must be the Ruine of all their Affairs: for having press'd him to the degree we have done, What Reason have we, says he, to put the Change upon him, so soon and so grossly: it must be easie for him, to see there can be no other cause, but a Treaty with the Court, and then it can't be doubted, but he will retire and leave us expos'd to unavoidable Dangers: That it was the Count's business, to shew himself at the Head of an Army on the other side

side of the *Meuse*: That then would be a proper Time and Place to consider what Proposals to make 'em: And that this March alone would add a great Reputation to their Arms.

Though these Reasons seem'd to the Duke of *Bouillon*, to have made a deep Impression upon the Mind of the Prince; yet to prevent any thing that might be apprehended from the wavering Condition that he saw him in; *Lamboy* was no sooner arriv'd, but he made him pass the *Meuse* with his Army.

In the interim, it being the Nature of Irresolution, which proceeds from Weakness, to increase in proportion to the Instances that are made for a speedy Resolve: *Monsieur* the Count was no sooner return'd to *Sedan*, but he was more unresolv'd than ever. In this Case he thought the Dutches of *Bouillon* the most proper Person in the World to second his Intentions. He went to find her; and having reason'd with her, upon the State of Affairs, he oblig'd her to write to her Husband, all that Prudence or Tendernefs could possibly inspire her with; and to send *Chadirac*, one of his Secretaries, in whom he had a great Confidence, to endeavour, at least, to perswade him to let *Lamboy's* Army lie encamp'd under *Sedan*.

The Duke de *Bouillon*, after having receiv'd the Letter, and heard all that *Chadirac* had to lay before him, answer'd him, that he knew very well the danger they were in, which in reality was augmented, rather by the weakness of *Monsieur* the Count, than the Power of the Cardinal:

dinal: That as to what related to his own particular, he saw reason to be afraid of any accommodation that should be made without a Sword in their hands: that it could not lay open to him the prospect of any Hopes, nor leave him so much as any reasonable pretence of making any Demand: that on the other hand, it was not to be doubted, but the Cardinal, either sooner or later, would be reveng'd of him for those Advantages which he must be forc'd to let *Monsieur the Count* have over Him. But that if they could push things forward, one lucky Event in the beginning of the Campaign, would make all *France* take Arms, and overturn the Cardinal's whole Fortune.

That he had advice there were great Commotions in *Guyenne*, and that the Favour that *Cinqmars*, Master of the Horse, was in at Court, had already made Parties there; that in short he should find greater Security and Advantages in pursuing the War, than in any Peace could be made, as things stood at present. That besides, as he had before told the Prince, *Lamboy* would assuredly Retreat, the very first moment that he saw him change his design, not being able to attribute the Cause of it to any thing but an Accommodation with the Cardinal. That this was an Argument beyond reply, and sufficient to show, that they must have nothing to do with new Projects.

Our Forces, *continued he*, when together, are above ten thousand Men, and the Marshal *de Chatillon* has not more. There is nothing further then to be weigh'd, either we must fight him, or force him to retire. *Lamboy* agreed



agreed with me in this, when I made him resolve to advance towards his Entrance into France. If we gain the Battle we have all before us. And after having hazarded so much as I have done, to serve the Interest of *Monsieur the Count*, Victory may then give me leave to put forward my own Pretensions. But if Fortune prove adverse to us, we may at least gather this Advantage from our ill Success, that our Retreat to *Sedan*, and so great a Resistance as ours will be, will show how far we are Imbark'd in these Affairs, and then our Friends, both in the Kingdom and without, will think themselves oblig'd to hinder us from falling.

When the Duke de *Bouillon* had spoke thus to *Chadillac*, he sent him back, and order'd him to tell the Count, that *Lamboy's* Troops had pass'd the *Meuse* before break of day, and that as soon as he had join'd them, and they were Encamp'd together, he would come to him to concert their final Resolution. In the mean time, a Party, the Duke had sent out, brought him word that Marshal *Chatillon* had Decamp'd, and some of the Prisoners that were taken affirm'd, that his Design was to Post himself upon the *Meuse*, near *Sedan*, to hinder *Lamboy's* Passage.

After the Duke of *Bouillon* had receiv'd this Advice, and had made *Lamboy* pass the River, he went to find *Monsieur the Count*, to acquaint him how things went, and to let him understand, that now, without any further delay, it was necessary to march up to Marshal *Chatillon*. *Monsieur the Count* agreed with him, and the Duke finding him so well dispos'd, us'd all his endeavours to oblige him to tarry in *Sedan*. He offer'd



offer'd to leave him absolute Master there ; and told him , that in the Progress of the War , he would find other occasions enough to signalize his Courage, but that at the beginning he ought above all things to preserve his own Person. That as for himself, supposing he should fall in the Fight , it would be a great Consolation to him to know , that He was in Safety , and in a Condition to preserve his Wife and Children from being expos'd to the Vengeance of their common Enemies.

*Monsieur* the Count not only refus'd to tarry in *Sedan* , but propos'd it to the Duke to tarry there himself ; and to let him alone run the hazard of a War, in which the Duke was engag'd only upon his Consideration.

This generous contest was concluded by their Resolution, that both should march. The same day the Duke of *Bouillon* having heard Mass, and taken the Sacrament at the Capuchins Church, and afterwards left Orders in *Sedan* , and sign'd some Papers that he judg'd necessary for his Household ; return'd to the Army, and *Monsieur* the Count came thither likewise some hours afterwards.

In the mean time Marshal *de Chatillon* , who was an undaunted General , but incredibly negligent , being perswaded that *Lamboy's* Forces were still on the other side the *Meuse* , march'd to oppose his Passage. But he found the Duke of *Bouillon* at the head of them , who having advice of his march was advanc'd with a great Body of Horse , and being drawn up on a rising ground, had plac'd his Squadrons so thick , that they could not see there were any Foot to support him.

him. Then he immediately secur'd all the places thereabouts, that might incommode the Enemy. In the mean time *Lamboy* came up with the Infantry, and Cannon, and *Monsieur* the Count with his Troops.

The two Armies being thus drawn out, and ready to join Battel, the Duke of *Bouillon* rode up to the reserv'd Body, where *Monsieur* the Count was. He found him at Confession, behind a Bush, which was his third time that same day. Having tarried a little time to speak with him, he heard the Cannon: so being in hast to return, He charg'd the Captain of the Count's Guards, to tell him, That, as things stood, it was of the utmost importance not to delay Fighting one moment, and that he was going to give the Onset.

I shall not relate the particulars of this Fight, there are several Printed Accounts of it: and if I should repeat the Praises which are there given to the Duke of *Bouillon*, I should seem, instead of the Memoirs of his Life, to have undertaken his Panegyrick.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, with his Horse, charg'd those of the Enemy, and broke 'em; so that falling back upon their own Infantry, they created so great a Disorder, that in a little time the whole Army was Routed.

All things went likewise well on *Lamboy's* side, who fought like a Captain, and a Man of Courage. There was no brave resistance made but by the Cannon, which the Duke of *Bouillon* attack'd with great hazard of his own Person: But after he had taken and routed the Troops that he found there, there appear'd no Body of Men  
that

that could rally again sufficient to make a Stand. Then the Duke of *Bouillon* seeing himself near the place where *Monsieur the Count* was, went himself to acquaint him with the Defeat of his Enemies ; but found him dead.

The Fate of this Prince is the more strange and unfortunate, because he lost his Life without having fought, and lost it even after the Victory, encompass'd with his Guards and several Gentlemen, and no one yet could ever truly know, by whom, nor how he was slain. As for my own part, having laid together all the Circumstances, that those who were then about him have related, I am perswaded, that he kill'd himself. This was likewise the Opinion of the Duke of *Bouillon*. For it is certain, that he twice lifted up the Visor of his Helmet with the Barrel of one of his Pistols ; and that *Riquemont*, his Gentleman of the Horse, fore-warn'd him of the danger that might happen by it. It is certain, that the Blow was in the middle of his Forehead, and that the Shot was so near, that the Paper went into his Head. Nevertheless, because that the very moment he gave himself this Blow, it chanced, that no one's Eyes were upon him : the Shame and Despair of those that were about him ; and, above all, the great Prejudice they had to the Cardinal, made 'em say, That it was he that had caus'd him to be assassinated, by a Traytour, who had mix'd himself with his Guards.

If we consider thoroughly, how much the Duke of *Bouillon* had hazarded for *Monsieur the Count*, we cannot doubt the Interest he had in the Preservation of his Person. And then, if we judge

into what a Condition the gaining of this Battle would have put the Fortune of the Prince; it will be no hard thing to comprehend how great a loss his Death must be every way to the Duke of *Bouillon*, and consequently how great his Sorrow for him. In the mean time, knowing of what Importance it is, to hinder the Disorder, which generally happens in an Army, through the Desire of Spoil, and Heat of Victory; he return'd immediately, and omitted nothing that might secure it to him. It was so intire, that the *Mareschal de Chatillon* lost all his Infantry, and almost all the principal Officers were slain or taken Prisoners.

The same day the Duke of *Bouillon* sent *Salaaignac* to the Cardinal Infant to carry him the News of the Victory, and Death of the Count; and to assure him, at the same time, that the Treaty between the Prince and him being mutual, he was ready to maintain it in every part, provided he would oblige the *Spaniards* to perform their parts for the future, and prepare what they had been wanting in heretofore.

Whilst the Return of *Salaaignac* was expected, the Duke of *Bouillon*, with General *Lamboy*, went to besiege *Doncheri*, a Place upon the *Meuse*, two Leagues from *Sedan*. He carried it in four days: after this, he was for marching into *France*, being perswaded, that if the Fame of his Victory had already rais'd the Hopes of the Cardinal's Enemies; yet the Death of the Count, which they must, no doubt, have had notice of, at the same time, would put them into a Consternation: so that it was of very great Consequence, to let 'em see, by the continuati-  
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on of their Progress, That the Party did still subsist. But *Lamboy*, without contradicting the Duke's Reasons, propos'd only the deferring it for some days, till he had refresh'd his Troops. During all this Interval, what-ever Instances the Duke could make, it was impossible to oblige him to march further; on the contrary, he sent Three of his best Regiments to *Aire*: and, after that, repass'd the *Meuse*, to follow the Cardinal Infant, who march'd to the Succour of *Aire*, and who had sent him Orders to join him.

The Duke of *Guise*, in a little time after, returning from *Brussels*, retir'd with *Lamboy*, being offended, that the Duke of *Bouillon* did not stay for his Arrival before he fought.

The Duke of *Bouillon* made a Gentleman go after him, to tell him, That to follow the *Spaniards* when they had abandon'd him, did not look like a Performance of the Treaty which they two had sign'd. If he had any Designs, that respected their common Interests, it was necessary they should concert them; and that, if he would give him a Meeting, he would be sure not to fail him. The Duke of *Guise* return'd Answer, That he would be at *Sedan* in three days, and there they would take their Measures. However, he did not come back, nor was there one word heard of him.

*Lamboy*, to whom the Duke of *Bouillon* made a Compliment, by the same Gentleman, wrote him a Letter, the Original of which is in my keeping, and which shews the very great Esteem he had of him. After, having spoke to him of his private Concerns, touching the Prisoners he had left at *Sedan*, and the Cannon taken in the

## 36. MEMOIRS of the

Fight, He added these very Words: "As for  
 "what remains, my Lord, I see your Highness  
 "is about making your Peace with *France*; upon  
 "which Subject I have nothing to say. But it is  
 "with great Regret, that I see my self remov'd  
 "from serving any longer under the Command  
 "of so great a Captain; to whom I shall always  
 "continue, and with Respect, &c.

The Duke of *Bouillon* seeing himself in this manner abandon'd, sent back *Salaignac* with speed, to the Cardinal Infant, with an Instruction signed by himself. He first complain'd, That since the Death of *Monsieur* the Count, he had never vouchsafed to send any Person to signify the part he took in so considerable a Loss, both for the Quality of the Person, and the Interest of the Party: That in the very Letter that he had receiv'd from his Royal Highness, by the Hands of *Salaignac*, he was so far from speaking of the Count, in terms due to a Prince of the Blood Royal of *France*, That he had mixt him, without distinction, with Persons that were not of equal Birth, when he spoke of the Duke of *Guise* and himself: He assur'd him further, That he was ready to execute the Treaty: But he declar'd, he would not stand to it, unless the *Spaniards* would perform what was behind, and both the Emperour and they immediately send the Troops and Money, which they had promis'd, for the carrying on the War. He spoke also of Money advanc'd, and Losses both by the King's Army, and *Lamboy's*. He represented the Freedom with which he had acted during the War: He left it to others, to tell him how much he had contributed to the gaining of the

the Day ; and desir'd his Royal Highness to be pleas'd to consider, That the Posture their Affairs were in, appear'd so advantagious , that there was nothing they might not hope for, if he would but put him into a Condition of pursuing the Victory. He further added ; That he should take the delays made in answering him and not satisfying his Demands , for a manifest Rupture : That in this case he must be off of the word he had given, and charg'd *Salaiznac* to demand the Papers he had sign'd ; protesting , before all the Princes of *Europe*, That having been abandon'd, without Regard had to the Faith of a solemn Treaty, nor to the Advantages of a Battle gain'd , and a Town taken ; he was reduc'd to seek his Safety in an Accommodation.

The Answer of the Cardinal Infant, was fill'd with nothing but the Praises of the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Examples of those who had been ruin'd by confiding in Cardinal *Richlieu*, after having once declared against him: but he avoided any positive Answer to his Demands and Remonstrances, and concluded in these Words : " If the *Spaniards* ( says he ) have failed in " their part of the Treaty, the Emperour having executed his, 'tis just, that his Highness " should address himself to him, for an account " of their Failings, and that he cannot acquit " himself without knowing what he will answer : " But *Lamboy* being retir'd, no Answer that was " to come so far, could be expected, without exposing him to a manifest Danger.

The Marechal *de Brezé* at the Head of an Army, had join'd the Marechal *Charillon*, since the



Battle. The King was likewise advanc'd towards the Frontiers, and come as far as *Retbel*: so that all the Forces together were Five and twenty thousand Men.

The Duke of *Bouillon* seeing himself in this Extremity, forced to retire into *Sedan*, and to rely upon his own Forces, doubted not but he should be besieged. He therefore apply'd all his Thoughts, to put himself into a Condition to make a glorious Resistance. In short, it was no hard matter to imagine, that the Cardinal incens'd against him to that degree that he was, would not have an extreme Desire to ruine him intirely. But considering the ill Dispositions that the Court and the rest of the Kingdom had towards the Cardinal, and the uncertain Condition of the Siege of *Aire*; it was of dangerous Consequence to undertake that of *Sedan*. Besides all the considerable Persons about the King, both the Cardinal's Friends as well as Enemies, spoke in favour of the Duke of *Bouillon*. The latter desirous to hinder a Prince that had been so declar'd an Enemy of the Cardinal's, from sinking: The others, out of Generosity, seeing him after so great an Action, expos'd without any Hope of Succour.

In short, the King being arriv'd at *Meziers*, the Cardinal offer'd his Mediation to the Duke of *Bouillon*. He accepted it with a Confidence equal to the Sincerity with which it was offer'd him.

From the moment that the Negotiation was begun, and the Truce agreed on, *Cinqmars*, Master of the Horse to the King, who had been so far declar'd a Favourite, that he was already  
very



very much suspected by the Cardinal, sought the Duke of *Bouillon's* Friendship by the Mediation of *de Thou*, who made several Journeys to *Sedan*, under pretence of the Obligations and Friendship that he had for the Duke, but indeed to offer all things he could hope for, from *Cinqmars*. He assur'd him, That *Cinqmars* had already laboured very much to mollifie the King, and to make him recede from that Bitterness and Anger, which the Cardinal had infus'd into him.

The Duke of *Bouillon* answer'd these Offers, and Advances, with such Decency and good Breeding, as the State of his present Fortune required. He was convinced, in the Sequel, that in reality these good Offices had not been unserviceable to him.

In the mean time, the Peace was concluded in the most glorious manner that the Duke of *Bouillon* could desire. The Cardinal would appear in the Treaty as Caution for the Duke of *Bouillon*, and as Guarantee to Him, that his Majesty should execute it sincerely, even to the Articles of the smallest Consequence.

The Duke of *Bouillon* went to *Meziers*, to see the King. He was receiv'd there with all possible Demonstrations of a great Esteem, and entire Oblivion of what had pass'd. The Cardinal omitted nothing to perswade the Duke, that he heartily desired his Friendship. He told the King in publick, that he ought to give him the Command of an Army: and that since, even with the *Spaniards*, he had been able to beat the *French* Forces, there would be nothing that

might not be expected from his Experience and Courage, when he should be at the Head of them. Nevertheless, after all, upon Consideration of what had happened before, and the general Notion that the World had of the Cardinal's Reconciliations, the more Earnestness he express'd to the Duke of *Bouillon*, the less Opinion the Duke had of his Sincerity.

The King went not into *Sedan*, nor did the Cardinal; *Cinqmars* went to Dinner there with several of his Friends. The Duke of *Bouillon* generally was visited by all the Court, and they could not refrain speaking of the extraordinary Esteem they had of him: for as what he had done in the Day of Battle, and throughout the whole War, had increas'd his Reputation in Arms; so his Praises were no less, for having dar'd to declare himself against so great a King, and so powerful a Minister; and to put his whole Family and Fortune to the Hazard of a Battle, rather than dismiss an unfortunate Prince that had come to him for Refuge.

The Peace being thus concluded, the King return'd to *Paris*, and the Duke of *Bouillon* continued at *Sedan*.

As he was very well instructed in his Religion, and had constantly such Thoughts as became a sound Christian; so he always attributed the Success of his Affairs to God: and by the publick Prayers that he caus'd to be made, he returned him Thanks for the Dangers from which he had been deliver'd. It might seem probable, that after having come off with so much Glory and Success, he should have applied himself to a more quiet way of Life; but he was

not

not born for Repose: and after what had pass'd, the uncertainty how he should manage himself in Peace, did, for some days, distract his Mind with no fewer Perplexities, than he had struggled with during the War. What Insight soever he might have into things, and though his natural Temper might be never so far from Irresolution, yet it was not easie to determine in his Circumstances. Each side that he could take had great Inconveniencies. To make a long stay at *Sedan*, and to frame Pretexs for not going thence, was to make *France* suspect him, to expose himself to new Dangers, and to bar up the only way he had left to Glory and Fortune. Should he take up a Resolution of still pushing on the War, what Succours could he expect from the Emperour and King of *Spain*, who had so cruelly abandon'd him, and in a Con-juncture where their own Interests should have oblig'd 'em to uphold him, though they had not been bound to it by their Engagements. To go to Court; what Security for him there? He that had been the Soul of the only Party that had ever durst directly form it self against the Cardinal. He that had Printed a *Manifesto* at *Sedan* that reflected so much upon his Ministry. He that had gain'd a Battle, and made too Honourable a Peace to have it ever effac'd out of the Cardinal's Memory. And the Cardinal was too well known to imagine, that he could ever dis-unite the Remembrance of an Injury, and the Desire of revenging it.

The Duke of *Bouillon* reckon'd, that the greatest Vexations of his Life, were those he suffer'd under these Uncertainties. They must, in effect,  
have

have been to him so much the greater, because I have often heard him say, That between two sides, he had much rather take the worst, than not take any; because all would fall to Ruine, by doing nothing, whereas, by Time and Action, one might expect a happy Event of those Affairs, which appear'd most desperate in their beginning. At last, having weigh'd all things, he resolv'd to go to Court, and carry his Wife and Children thither; and to shew that he acted with an open Confidence, he resolv'd to go and make some stay at *Turenne*, and some other Seats that he had in *Guyenne*.

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## THE Second B O O K.

**T**HE Battle of *Sedan* was fought on the sixth of *July*. The Treaty of Peace was Sign'd at *Meziers* the eight of *August*, and about the fifteenth of *September*, the Duke of *Bouillon* parted from *Sedan*, in his way to Court. He found it at *Nesle* in *Picardy*. *De Thou* went before him, and *Cinqmars* came to visit him as soon as he was arriv'd.

By the King's Reception, and the Cardinal's acting with him, he had just reason to believe, that things were in the same posture he had left them. In the mean time *De Thou* omitted nothing which he thought proper to fasten those ties which he had begun between the Duke of *Bouillon* and *Cinqmars*; and he thought he could not give the Duke more substantial Proofs of his steadiness and Friendship.

*De Thou* had Wit, Honesty, Courage, and very noble Intentions: but his too great activity made him enter upon several Projects which would undoubtedly have been rejected by one who had been more capable of making deeper reflections. He began with the Long Robe, some time after he was for the Sword. So at last he had

had no profession at all: which must be look'd upon as one of the most disagreeable Conditions that a Man of Merit can find himself reduced to. Amidst those different states which show'd some uneasiness in him, he still preserv'd the Reputation of great Honesty. He was then discontented at the Cardinal about some Employment in the Army, that had been refus'd him, and this discontent, without doubt, did in some measure animate him against this Minister. In short, *De Thou* was resolv'd to ruine him. He believ'd, that as for this World, he could undertake nothing that would be more Glorious, and that before God he could do nothing more just. The Cardinal's Power seem'd to him to decrease every day; and *Cinqmars* on the contrary, to advance in favour, insomuch, that he was now entire Master of the King's Affections. Amidst so many prejudices, it is scarce credible, but that when *De Thou* laid down his Platform of the Court to the Duke of *Bouillon*, he allow'd something to his own Passions. There is a great deal of probability likewise, that it was he who made *Cinqmars* desire of the Duke of *Bouillon*, that he might have an opportunity of discoursing with him freely, to tell him how he stood with the King, and askt what his advice might be, in relation to the Cardinal: But when *De Thou* made this Proposal to the Duke of *Bouillon*, he answer'd, that nothing could be more dangerous to him, and even to *Cinqmars*, than to let the least suspicion arise of their holding secret correspondence. That the Cardinal having information of the minutest particulars, it was impossible for them to have any private Conversation,

on, especially in such a place as *Nesle*, that should not come to his knowledge. The Duke of *Bouillon* therefore desir'd *De Thou* to divert *Cinqmars* from this thought; and to let him understand, that it was the Consideration of their common Interest which hinder'd him from complying with it. He told *De Thou* farther, as a Friend, that he was desirous to live fairly with *Cinqmars*, and to return the advances he had made him, and the good Offices he had receiv'd; but that these good Offices were not of so high a nature as to oblige him to be drawn blindly into his Interests: That in short he had no mind to Re-imbark himself in new troubles, but that as things stood then, the infallible way of doing it would be to intermeddle with *Cinqmars* his Conduct. That if the Cardinal and *Cinqmars* were private Persons, then he should make no scruple of declaring for *Cinqmars*, but that he could look upon neither of them in such a respect; not the Cardinal, by reason of his quality as first Minister, nor *Cinqmars*, as being the King's profess'd Favourite. *De Thou* promis'd the Duke of *Bouillon* to manage things so, that *Cinqmars* his good inclinations towards him should not be in the least alter'd. And indeed the Duke of *Bouillon* meeting him next day in the King's Apartment, he found an opportunity to tell him, that there was nothing he design'd more passionately than his Friendship; but that he had pray'd *Monsieur de Thou* to tell him, that he would never ask it till he had merited it by some considerable Service. The Duke of *Bouillon* answer'd him with a general Complement, and for the rest refer'd him to what *Monsieur de Thou* would say in his behalf.

When



When the Duke of *Bouillon* went to *Nesse*, he sent the Dutcheſs his Lady, and his Children, to *Paris*, to tarry for him there, with a deſign not to go thither till the King went. But ſeeing that he would remain ſome time in *Picardy*, the Duke of *Bouillon* ſtaid but ten or twelve Days, haſten'd by the Seafon to make his Journey into *Guyenne*, and indeed haſten'd more by his deſire to quit the Court, judging that as he ſaw things ſtand, it was prudence in him to make no long ſtay there.

After taking leave of the King and Cardinal, he went to bid *Cinqmars* adieu, who renew'd to him all the Proteſtations he had already made, and told him, that when any thing, which he ought to be inform'd of, ſhould come to his Knowledge, he would apply himſelf to *De Thou*, to acquaint him with it. The Duke told him, that if he would take this pains, he could not Communicate to any Man better, nor in whom he plac'd a more entire Confidence than in *Monſieur de Thou*. They parted in this manner, that is, very kindly, but without entring upon any thing particular.

*Cinqmars* was very well Shap'd, and very Amiable. He had Courage, a Sprightly Wit, Bold, Capable of great Undertakings, and patient in his purſuing them, with great Art and much Application. But being no more than one and twenty, he wanted Experience; beſides he was Untractable, and Preſumptuous, which are generally the inſeparable faults of Fortune and Youth: And theſe faults are ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe preſumption engages them in raſh Actions; and reſuſing to be ad-  
vis'd,



vis'd, hinders their abandoning 'em. So *Cinqmars*, what Remonstrances soever his Friends could make, he could never overcome the Hatred he had conceived for the Cardinal. If he had only been capable of moderating it, could he but have subdn'd it before the King, there had been no Greatness to which in time he might not have pretended, considering the violent Inclinations of his Master towards him, and the Age and Indisposition of the Cardinal. But, in short, it was impossible for him to manage these two Points, with a Conduct that should be lasting; whether 'twas by the Fatality of his Destiny, or because Men are not yet arriv'd to that Pitch of Wisdom, to know when to stop the Career of their Fortune, so as to be able to fix it. But whatever Impatience *Cinqmars* might have for advancing his Fortune, yet he could not relinquish the Pursuit of his own Pleasures, and that conquerable Aversion he had for those of the King: for this Prince being inclin'd to Piety, he us'd to seek his Recreations in some innocent Amusements; so that what pleased and diverted him, overwhelm'd his Favourite with Melancholy and Uneasiness.

The Abbot *de Beaumont* then in the Cardinal's Service, since Præceptor to the King and Archbishop of *Paris*, has told me, That one day his Master having sent him to *Cinqmars*, to acquaint him that the King was very much incens'd against him; he found him in his Chamber, with Tears in his Eyes, bewailing his Destiny. He said, several times, he had rather renounce all, than endure that Life any longer, which the King made him lead. In short, he

was

was in such violent Passions, that *Beaumont* was scarce able to let him understand, that the King's whole Discontent proceeded from this, That upon his Return from the Chase of *Ble-reau* he seem'd so weary, that he could not stay a moment in the King's Apartment, who was retir'd into his Closet on purpose to call him only to him. The Cardinal, in the beginning took care of *Cinqmars's* Conduct; He had, in some measure, promoted his Fortune, for the Friendship he had with *Mareschal de Fiat*, his Father, who ow'd his Fortune to him: but perhaps it might be, because he knew the Place of Favourite could not be void; and seeing the great Inclination the King had to *Cinqmars*, he might think it better to follow than oppose it.

At the Return of the Court from *Picardy*, *Cinqmars* desired of the King to make him of the Council. He thought the Cardinal could have no Pretence to oppose him in this, since he could not be ignorant that the King gave him an account of every thing that pass'd there, though the most secret and most important. When the King first made the Proposal, the Cardinal was so far transported as to say, That it was enough to make his Affairs despicable in foreign Countries, to let it be seen, that so small a Head-piece, as *Cinqmars*, should have any part in them. Afterwards he sent for him, and told him himself, what he had said to the King; to which he added some things so offensive, that *Cinqmars*, raging with Grief, flew from him like one distracted.

Some few days after, upon the Cardinal's being inform'd that *Cinqmars* was in Love with the Princess *Mary*, and that he had Thoughts of marrying Her; he raillied upon it very sharply, and said, He could not believe this Princess would so far forget her Birth, as to debase herself to so mean a Companion. These Discourses being told *Cinqmars*, rais'd his Hatred of Cardinal to the highest Pitch. But these Encounters made no Noise then, because the Cardinal believ'd it his Interest, not to let these aspiring Thoughts of *Cinqmars* be seen; and the Troubles he created him: and *Cinqmars* did not think it proper for him to reveal to any Person, the Discourse which he had with the Cardinal, and the Treatments which he had received from him.

Whilst these things pass'd between the Cardinal and *Cinqmars*, the Duke of *Bouillon* took his Journey into *Guyenne*. Passing by *Orleans*, Chance would have it, that he should meet the Duke of *Orleans*. The Duke of *Bouillon* would have avoided him, knowing that he had often express'd the Hatred he had for him. It was ground'd upon this; That at the time this Prince was retir'd to *Brussels*, he had often endeavour'd to bring the Duke of *Bouillon* to his Party, without having ever been able to engage him in it. However he receiv'd him very obligingly, and would make him keep St. *Hubert's* Feast with him at *Chaubort*.

After he was arriv'd at *Turenne*, and had spent some days in looking after the Affairs of so considerable an Estate, where he had never

been before, he went to that which he had in *Pec-  
rigord*. Being at *Limeuil*, and coming from Hunt-  
ing, an unknown Person gave him a Letter, which  
*de Thou* had writ to him. He was extremely sur-  
priz'd, when he saw it dated half a League off from  
*Limeuil*, and that *de Thou* desired him to appoint  
a Place where he might see him without being  
known. He did as *de Thou* requested: and  
when they were together *de Thou* told him, that  
he was come to desire him earnestly in *Cinqmars*  
behalf, to return to Court again, and that his  
Return thither would be of very great Impor-  
tance. The Duke of *Bouillon* ask'd him the Rea-  
sons, that might oblige *Cinqmars* to propose to  
him the taking of so extraordinary a Journey;  
but he was yet more surpriz'd when *de Thou* an-  
swer'd him, that *Cinqmars* had not entrusted  
him with them. This Proceeding appear'd ve-  
ry disobliging, in relation to himself, and almost  
incredible, in respect of *de Thou*. He told him,  
That, being but just come thither, it was impos-  
sible for him to return without any Pretence, or  
apparent Reason. He desired, he would let  
*Cinqmars* understand as much: and yet that he  
would not relate to him all his Dissatisfaction:  
That something was allowable to his Youth:  
That the Favour he was in had likewise its Pri-  
vilege: That he held himself oblig'd to think  
the best of *Cinqmars*'s Proceedings, in con-  
sideration of the kind Offices he had receiv'd  
from him, and the Confidence he shew'd he had  
of him in *Picardy*.

About three Weeks after *de Thou* was retur-  
ned from thence, The Duke of *Bouillon* being  
at *Tirolenne*, receiv'd a Letter from the King,  
which

which order'd him to come to Court with all speed. He departed immediately; and as soon as ever he was in *Paris*, *de Thou* came to him, to request him, from *Cinqmars*, to let him speak with him before he saw either the King or Cardinal. The Duke of *Bouillon* had a great deal of difficulty to resolve what to do in so dangerous a Conjunction: nevertheless *de Thou* oblig'd him to consent to it, after he had told him, what Measures he had taken, that he might do it without any manner of Fear.

The Duke of *Bouillon* then ask'd *de Thou*, if *Cinqmars* had never told him the Reasons of the Journey, which he had made him take into *Perrigord*? *De Thou* told him, That he knew no more, at present, than when he parted with him; But that *Cinqmars* had positively assur'd him, That, by the Sequel, they should see, that neither of them should have reason to complain of the Management he had us'd upon this Occasion.

The King was then at *St. Germain's*. *De Thou* carried the Duke of *Bouillon* thither in his Coach, and by the favour of the Night, and the Precautions they had taken, He and *Cinqmars* saw one another without any one's Knowledge. *Fontrailles* was in *Cinqmars's* Chamber. *Cinqmars* presented him, as his intimate Friend, to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who had never seen him; and added this at his presenting him, That though he had an entire Confidence in *Fontrailles*, yet he should not have took the Liberty of letting him be at this Interview, without the Consent of the Duke of *Bouillon*; if he had not thought there was always more Trust to be given to

Persons of Quality, than to Servants; and that indeed he had sent away all his People, under pretence of being alone with *Fontrailles*, which often us'd to happen.

After their first Compliments, *Fontrailles* and *de Thou* retired into a Closet: and then *Cinqmars* began to tell the Duke of *Bouillon*, That the King had not been well since his Return from *Picardy*; That the Cardinal however had not desisted from making him resolve upon going into *Catalonia*. That it was resolv'd much about the same time, to fetch him from *Turenne*, to give him the Command of the Army in *Italy*; and that he judg'd it very necessary for him, before he saw any Body, to have some Intimation of it: the rather because he could not perswade himself that this proceeded from the Cardinal, out of any good Intent, because he lost no occasion of making ill Impressions of him in the King's Mind. That he had told him, a little while agoe, That his Dutcheffs had too much Power over him; and that she, in her Heart, was intirely devoted to *Spain*. That he had heard, that *Monsieur des Noyers* told the King, That it was no difficult thing to take *Sedan* from him; because, being oblig'd by the Treaty of Protection, to receive the King's Troops into it; He would have Right to seize on It, in case he refus'd as many as should be sent thither. That, in short, the Distrust they had of him was so great, that the Cardinal thought nothing of more Importance, than the hindering him from returning to *Sedan*. That they would not permit him even to tarry in *Guyenne*, and that the manner, in which he had been visited,

ted, had caus'd Suspensions, That, without doubt, they would send him to *Italy*, only that they might be able to secure his Person, in case the King should die. That it would not be difficult to arrest him in an Army where he should have no Troops of his own; not one Friend; and where he was not so much as known, but by his Reputation. That, let him be never so great a Captain, he would find himself much expos'd, by the extraordinary things that the Count *de Harcourt* had done there. That to come up to 'em, he must be assur'd of as great Fortune as he had, and have the Ministry as much on his side. That besides, the main Action would be either in *Flanders* or *Germany*.

*Cinqmars* added; That he now stood fairer with the King than ever, and that he was not less secure of *Monsieur's* Favour to him, whom he had a little while since acquainted, by the Count *d'Aubijoux*, of the Resolution that had been taken, of making him go into *Catalonia*; but he had advis'd him not to do it, being certain, that the Cardinal's Design was to Arrest him, if the King should chance to dye there. That in this case the Cardinal had no small Designs, seeing he had propos'd to the King, under several weak Pretences, to leave the Queen and her two Children, at the Castle of *Vincennes*, where *Chavigni*, one of his own Creatures, was Governour. That they were perswaded the King could not live long. That it was upon this Consideration, that the Cardinal was so much for his Journey into *Catalonia*, under pretence that his Affairs there required it. That he doubted not, but that if the King should die



so remote from his Queen and Children, he being Master of his Confessour, and all other Affairs, but that he would be so likewise of his Thoughts when he lay a dying; and then, having both the Court and Army at his Command, his Ambition would have no other Bounds, but what he himself should prescribe it. I ordered him further to acquaint *Monsieur*, continued *Cinqmars*, that in this Extremity I would advise him to secure the *Spaniard*, that, in case the King should die, the Party he would find in *France*, might have some Assistance from abroad, by a Treaty, which should be founded upon a general Peace; and by this means they might secure themselves from the Designs of their common Enemy, the Cardinal. I am perswaded likewise, added he, that the most infallible means of ruining him, if the King does not die, is to dispose *Monsieur* to take Arms: For I having a Correspondence with him, which I will continue, and seeing the King so often tired with this Ministry, that he would willingly be delivered from it, I will order it so, that his Royal Highness shall not declare, till there is so favourable a Conjunction, that I can infallibly make the King take a final Resolution against the Cardinal; and I have made a Project for a Treaty with *Spain*, which I will shew you.

Here the Duke of *Bouillon* interrupted him; and told him he was desirous to explain himself to him, in relation to the *Spaniards*. That he was just come from under their Hands, and that he was resolv'd not to get into them again. That he had too many Proofs of their Breach of Trust, and their Weakness, that besides, their  
Divisions



Divisions among themselves were so great, that it was impossible for 'em to carry on any considerable Design, or that in the progress they should not ruine themselves by their Misunderstandings.

*Cinqmars* though surpriz'd to the utmost degree at finding the Duke of *Bouillon* so averse to a Treaty with *Spain*, and seeing, that in an affair of this consequence, he had advanc'd too far, towards one that would not enter into the same designs, yet resum'd the Discourse, without seeming at all concern'd.

He told the Duke of *Bouillon*, that notwithstanding all these considerations, it would still be much to their advantage, that *Monsieur* should make a Treaty with the *Spaniards*, because it would make him more considerable, and that He, having so much Power over him as he had, would hinder him from making any use of it, unless they should afterwards find it absolutely necessary. After this re-entring upon what concern'd the Duke of *Bouillon*, he assur'd him he had made his Peace with his Royal Highness, and that he had so dispos'd him as to clear up those matters that he said he had reason to complain of. That the first time his Highness should see him, perhaps he would tell him the same.

*Cinqmars* concluded with remarking to the Duke of *Bouillon*, how much he ought to rely on him, since he had given him such Proofs of an entire Confidence. That it was as much as his Life and Fortune was worth, that this should be kept secret.

The Duke of *Bouillon* answer'd, That he should have no occasion to repent; that he

would mention it to no Person breathing. He requested the same Secrecy from him, as to what related to the Treaty with Spain. He ask'd if *De Thou* had any knowledge of these matters, and *Cinqmars* telling him, that he had never spoke to him about 'em, the Duke of *Bouillon* promis'd him, that he would never mention 'em to him; and added farther, that as for the Command in *Italy*, he would think of it, and having weigh'd the Advantages and Inconveniences, he would take his final Resolution, and for the rest they might discourse at leisure.

We may judge, by this whole Discourse of *Cinqmars*, that the Duke of *Bouillon* retir'd with matter large enough to employ his Reason and his Fear. He saw very well, that the Ambition of *Cinqmars*, and his hatred to the Cardinal, might make him aggravate several things: but then, at the same time, to pass a true judgment of his own Condition, and the present State of the Court, he would find very great probabilities for all that had been told him. That which prest him most, was what to determine about the employ in *Italy*: the King having sent for him, upon this account; it was not likely, he would be long without speaking to him of it: should he accept it, he had great reason to fear the Consequence: but in the present Conjunction of their Affairs, there was more danger yet in refusing it: and to prevent what might be fear'd upon his refusal, if he should incline to that side, he must secretly, and with speed, retire to *Sedan*, as the only means to prevent his being Arrested.

This was all that *Cinqmars* and the Cardinals  
 Enemies

Enemies could desire, to have him retire to *Sedan*: and indeed to view only the first prospect of the thing, the Duke of *Bouillon* might see in it both their common Advantages, and his own Security: but to search into the Effects of it, he there must find his undoubted ruine. Besides the Dutchess of *Bouillon*, and his Children being at *Turenne*, were sufficient Hostages for his Conduct. In short, having weigh'd all these things, he went the next Morning to pay his Duty to the King, and to see the Cardinal, being resolved to receive the Proposal, that should be made him, as one surpriz'd, but yet as if he were very well pleas'd at it. The truth is, and I have heard him say so several times, that he was touch'd extreamly with the Glory, to see himself sought to, to Command a Royal Army, six Months after the Battle of *Sedan*. This thought alone was sufficient to determine him; and without doubt, it contributed much to his perswasion, that Fortune and his good Conduct, should supply all the rest.

However eight or ten Days pass'd without the breaking this Design to him: whether the thing was not yet fully resolv'd on, or because at this time the King was more indispos'd than ordinary. This Prince had naturally his health but ill. He was then so weak, that his Physicians began to fear his Life, and to tell this secretly to their Friends. But as secrets of such consequence soon become publick Discourse, the Rumour was spread every where that the King could not last much longer.

During the Expectation of so great a Turn, every one made his own Reflections upon Publick

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lick Affairs, and according to them regulated the Projects of their own particular Fortunes. But this Conjunction being the most nice and perilous that ever was known, Fear and Distrust were encreas'd by the Danger; so that the most daring Courtiers were afraid to consult together.

The Queen, who had been persecuted by the Cardinal so many several ways, was in very great Frights. She doubted not but if the King should die, this Minister would take her Children from her, to get the Regency into his own hands; and though these Thoughts were as so many mortal Blows to her, yet they were not the ut most of her Fears.

*Monsieur* the Duke of Orleans, who in several important Occasions of his Life, had likewise felt the bloody Effects of the Cardinal's Hatred, could not doubt but He would look on him as the most formidable Enemy; both for the Memory he would retain of what had pass'd, and for the Authority, which his Quality, as onely Brother to the King, might seem to promise him, during the time of a Regency.

Things being in this Condition, we may guess in what straits the Duke of *Bouillon* found himself. Having pass'd his Life in the Wars and out of *France*, He had scarce any more knowledge of the Court, than what he had gain'd by the little stay he had made there; and Natural Parts, how great soever they be, are not sufficient, without being succour'd by some Experience, or the Counsels of a sincere Friend, who is harder to be found in that place, than in any other in the World.

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In the mean time they began to open the Thoughts they had of sending the Duke of *Bouillon* into *Italy*, and though he had not discover'd the Resolution he had taken in this Affair, to any Person : Yet the Courtiers who are always ready to determine what is to come to pass, being desirous of Novelties, and upon this Occasion impatient to have some new Troubles, began already to say, That he would refuse this Employment, and retire to *Sedan*.

The Queen, relying upon this Rumour, or press'd by her Fears, made *de Thou* search after him with Secrecy and great Earnestness. She ordered, that he should first be desired to close with her Interest, and to give her two Instances of it, which she thought very essential : The first was, to accept the Command in *Italy* ; that there might be such a Person at the Head of an Army, of whose Merit she was so well assur'd : The other was ; That, if the King should die, he would promise to receive her into *Sedan*, with her two Children, not thinking (so well was she assur'd of the Cardinal's ill Intentions, and his Power), there was any Place of Safety for them in all *France*.

*De Thou* likewise told the Duke, that since the King had been sick, the Queen and the Duke of *Orleans* had entered into a very strict Union, and that *Cinqmars* was the Person that had effected it ; but that he was the only Man, to whom this Secret had been intrusted, and he desired him not to disclose it to any Body breathing.

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The Duke of *Bouillon* gave him his Promise ; and, resum'g the Discourse, told him, It was not possible things should ever come to that Extremity, that the Children of *France* should have occasion for such a Retreat: that however they should always be Masters of *Sedan*, when the Queen should be pleas'd to send them thither ; and he should look upon it as a very great Honour to receive 'em there : That as for the Employment in *Italy* ; It had not yet been mention'd to him ; but in case it was offer'd him, he would act conformably to the Queen's Desire. Two days after, *de Thou*, out of a motion of his own, desired the Queen to signify to the Duke of *Bouillon*, the satisfaction she took at the manner in which he answer'd what had been propos'd to him on her part ; which she could do but in very few words, and that as she was going to *Mafs* ; leaving the rest to *de Thou*, as the Person in whom she had plac'd an entire Confidence.

In the mean time, the King grew better ; and the Cardinal declar'd to the Duke of *Bouillon*, that he was design'd to Command the Army in *Italy*. He spoke to him concerning this Employment in very obliging Terms, but us'd not any single Expression that might shew his Desire of securing him to his Interests or Fortunes : Whether he was with-held by the Consideration of his own Glory, as thinking it below him to Court any Body ; or else, having resolv'd to Ruine him, he would avoid the Shame of having us'd the Appearances of a real Friendship, in order to his more certain Destruction. The Duke, at his Acceptance of the Employment, made

made his Reply in general Terms, and with such a Grace, as might become a Man of his Quality.

The same day the Duke of *Bouillon* being return'd to *Paris*, *Cinqmars* came to him two hours before Night, to carry him to visit *Monsieur*, who lay at *Venice-House*, where his Stables were then.

After the Duke of *Bouillon* had given him Satisfaction, by clearing some Passages that had happened heretofore, *Monsieur* told him all the obliging things imaginable, earnestly desired his Friendship, and promis'd to serve him upon all Occasions. *Cinqmars* added farther, addressing himself to *Monsieur*, that he thought he had done him a signal Piece of Service, in bringing over to his Party, a Person of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Quality; who, besides his Personal Merit, was Master of a Place that was so very important. Afterwards he spoke of the Cardinal without any manner of Reserve; he discours'd at large of what all of them had reason to fear, if the King should die; and *Fontrailles* and *d'Aubijoux* being present, he said, 'Twas necessary to treat with the *Spaniards*. Then *Monsieur*, taking up the Discourse, assur'd 'em he was going to send *Fontrailles* to *Madrid*, and that he would recommend the Duke of *Bouillon's* Concerns to him, if he was willing to come into the Treaty. The Duke of *Bouillon* answer'd, That he had already spoke clearly to that Point with *Cinqmars*, and that his Opinion was not altered. Afterwards he represented the Condition of the *Spaniards*, and their Failures in all their Treaties, more at large than he had done to

*Cinqmars*,



*Cinqmars*, adding, That he doubted not but their Consideration for *Monsieur's* Person would cause 'em to make larger Efforts than they had done for *Monsieur* the Count of *Soissons* and himself: but that no Precaution was too great be taken against their Infidelity and Weakness.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, as may easily be judged, was not prepared for this Conversation. In effect he was very uneasy to find himself expos'd to it. But in the mean time, reflecting upon the Power, which *Monsieur* would have, if the King should die, and the Union there was between him and the Queen, which Secret *de Thou* had entrusted him withal; he thought, that though he had not given the Satisfaction to *Monsieur* which he might expect, in relation to *Spain*, yet at least he must not leave him without entring further into the Consideration of what might happen upon the Revolution they foresaw: It was his Opinion, That if he should not deliver his Mind freely as to that Affair, it would bring a new Negotiation upon him, which, being manag'd by *Cinqmars*, would make him lose the Merit of his Resolution, though he should take one agreeable both to *Monsieur* and the Queen; because it would seem as if *Cinqmars* had perswaded him to it. Besides, though the Duke of *Bouillon* had no Presumption of himself, which is common even to the greatest Men; yet he could not but apprehend, what Weight he might be in a Regency, when at the Head of an Army, that might maintain the Interests of the Royal Family against the Cardinal.

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These Considerations oblig'd him to re-assume his Conversation with *Monsieur*; besides he was willing to prevent the Thoughts they might have of retiring to *Sedan*, after the Treaty with *Spain*, having gathered from *Cinqmars* his Discourse, that they had agreed to propose it to him.

He told *Monsieur* therefore, That he did not know what his Designs were, if the King should die; but considering the Confidence which his Highness had done him the Honour to place in him, he could not but represent to his Highness, That such a Person, as he, ought always to lay the Foundations of his Interest and Forces within the Kingdom, rather than rely upon Strangers. That he might have remark'd, That when the Cardinal look'd upon him as his Enemy, he omitted nothing that might force him to go out of *France*: so that there was no doubt but in a Regency he would be much more desirous that he should take that Resolution. That being among the Enemies of the Kingdom, it would always give a plausible Colour for suspecting his Intentions, and making the Parliaments and People abandon his Interests. That he was not of *Cinqmars* his Opinion, who thought they could arrest him if the King should die; That it was a thing without Example; and though the Cardinal were never so powerful yet he could not find any Body that would venture to execute so rash a Design. That there was none but the Queen that could contest any thing with him during the Regency; and that if he could join Interest with Her Majesty, he saw no Probability that the Cardinal could so much

much as put himself into any condition of resisting 'em. However, if upon the King's Death he should believe it necessary for him to go out of *France*, *Sedan* should be an assur'd Retreat for him, the Queen, and Children of *France*, and that he would pass his word to espouse no other Interest but theirs.

Then *Monsieur* took the Duke of *Bouillon*, and *Cinqmars*, and carrying them apart from *Fontrailles*, and *D' Aubijou*, he acquainted the Duke of *Bouillon* with the Intelligence that was between the Queen and him, and concluded with the testifying his great satisfaction in what he had told him; either because he really was pleased, or did not think it proper to advance any farther Proposals concerning *Sedan*, after such a Discourse as the Duke of *Bouillon* had made him.

When the Duke of *Bouillon* found himself alone with *Cinqmars*, he told him, that though the Conversation they came from had the success he desired, yet he could not hide from him the dissatisfaction he took at the manner with which the thing was done. For what reason, says he, was there to insinuate to *Monsieur* such a thing as a Retreat to *Sedan*? And what necessity of my speaking before him of a Treaty with *Spain*? *Cinqmars* having declar'd to him his own concern for the trouble he saw him in: All this, continued he, engages you no farther: And I dare tell you, that considering the state of the King's Health, I think I have done you a considerable piece of Service; not only in reconciling you to *Monsieur*, and in having oblig'd him to speak to you with so much Freedom: but likewise

likewise in that I have so dispos'd him, as to deliver himself entirely up to you, as he will do, if he follows the design of retiring to *Sedan*: However I promise you to divert it, if you judge it inconvenient.

The Duke of *Bouillon* saw very well that *Cinqmars* reasons were pure inventions, and that in effect his design was to engage him to *Monsieur*, gave him only this Answer; Remember, at least, that I never made any Promise of a Retreat to *Sedan*, but in case the King should die. For whilst the King is alive, it would be a very odd sort of Conduct in me to be my Self at the Head of one of his Armies, whilst *Monsieur* and the *Spaniards* should make *Sedan* the Stage of a Civil War.

The next day the Duke of *Bouillon* related to *de Thou* the whole Conversation that he had with *Monsieur*, excepting the particular concerning the *Spaniards*. He told him likewise what had pass'd between him and *Cinqmars*, after their parting with *Monsieur*: adding, that how great a Favourite soever he might be, yet if in any other Encounter he should happen to act with him as he had done upon this occasion, they must assuredly break, and that he saw very well, that all the pains which he had taken so officiously, had no other ground for 'em but a desire to Embarque him so far, as that he might be a support to him against the Cardinal.

*De Thou* did not excuse *Cinqmars*. He confess'd, that Youth made him often drive on faster than was to be wisht for: and he repeated it several times to the Duke of *Bouillon*, that he would have him take care not to bring himself

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into trouble. These words made him understand, that *de Thou* knew *Cinqmars* design in relation to the Treaty with *Spain*, as in effect the thing proved afterwards to be true. For *Cinqmars* had all along intrusted it with *de Thou*, who had us'd all his endeavours to dissuade him: But not being able to accomplish it, he had made *Cinqmars* pass his word to him, that no Person should know that he had any Cognizance of such a Treaty, no not so much as the Duke of *Bouillon*. In short, we have seen before, how that *de Thou* rather than open himself to him concerning that matter in their Conversation at *Limeuil*, suffer'd the Duke to judge very hardly, both of his own Conduct and *Cinqmars*'s Proceedings.

At the same time the Duke of *Bouillon* ask'd *de Thou* if he had not heard that the King's Favour to *Cinqmars* was decreasing. *De Thou* answer'd, that he had heard such a thing, and had told *Cinqmars* of it, who assur'd him it was absolutely false.

However, continued *de Thou*, that which makes me suspect that there may be some ground for these reports is, that *Cinqmars* ask'd me with some concern, if they had not spread themselves as far as the Duke of *Bouillon*. You may easily see then by this Curiosity, said the Duke of *Bouillon* pleasantly, that I am a Person whom *Cinqmars* would willingly intrust with the news of the advancement of his Fortune; but I am not one to whom he would discover the secret of its diminution.

The truth is, as the sequel demonstrated, that about this time the King began to give *Cinqmars*  
great

great Mortifications, but in private, being unwilling that the Courtiers should take any notice of it; either out of good Nature, or the Uncertainty he might be in of continuing his Anger against a Favourite who had so natural and so great an Ascendant over him.

*Cinqmars* us'd to go every morning into the King's Chamber, the very moment he wak'd, and to be two hours with him there alone: But when the King was displeas'd with him, this Privilege was deni'd him: and *Cinqmars*, lest any one should perceive the Alteration, came every day to the *Louvre* at the same time that he us'd to do, and entred at the Door of the Wardrobe, but instead of going directly into the King's Chamber, he remain'd conceal'd in a little Passage that was hard by, where he diverted himself with reading Romances, till the King call'd for those Officers whose Place it was to enter. Then the first Groom of the Chamber, who was *Cinqmars* his Confident, and in his Interests, let him in by a back Door, which was near that Passage; so that they who came in at the other Door finding him in the King's Chamber, and seeing the same Appearances of Privacy, thought his Favour likewise continued the same.

Whilst things were in this Posture, the Duke of *Bouillon* had several Conferences with the Cardinal, concerning the Affairs of *Italy*, and finding himself sufficiently instructed, he thought, things standing thus at Court, the best way he could take, was to go to *Turenne*, under pretence of preparing his Equipage.

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He went then to St. *Germain's*, to consult with the Cardinal about his departure, but he found that he was at *Ruel*, and that he would not be back till Night: He resolv'd to tarry for him, and *Cinqmars* having desired his Company at Dinner, he went thither, and carried *de Thou* with him.

Persons of the greatest Quality often eat with *Cinqmars*, even they who were most devoted to the Cardinal, and his Relations: For *Cinqmars* all along kept the Measures of Decency with this Minister; and had several times been reconciled to him as sincerely as Reconciliations generally are made at Court; where after having been very highly offended, there are Treaties still to be made for returning into Favour.

At dinner-time *Cinqmars* began several pleasant Discourses, in which there appear'd an extraordinary Gaiety. This only increas'd the Duke and *de Thou's* Suspicion, concerning his Favour: for they thought they saw Affectation in all he said, and much more Trouble than Freedom of Thought: whether they were prejudic'd, or else, in truth, it is never so hard to speak without Concern, as when one talks for fear one's Silence should be taken notice of.

After Dinner, the Duke of *Bouillon* being alone with *Cinqmars* and *Fontrailles*, *Cinqmars* could not forbear speaking of his Hatred to the Cardinal, and passing thence to the Treaty with *Spain*.

The Duke of *Bouillon* was not at all displeas'd at it, because he might shew *Fontrailles* that he had not chang'd his Opinion; but *Fontrailles*, upon the fresh Difficulties which the Duke suggested,  
took



took occasion to tell him, that there were, indeed, shorter and more secure Methods against the Cardinal, if they would make use of them. Then *Cinqmars* look'd upon the Duke, who had chang'd the Discourse, as if he had not understood what *Fontrailles* said. *Cinqmars* minded it, and told him readily, that the other Methods, that *Fontrailles* would mention, were undoubtedly, That the Duke of *Bouillon*, instead of going into *Italy*, would let *Monsieur* retreat into *Sedan*, and go himself thither with him to declare War against the Cardinal. The Duke of *Bouillon* answered, That he would keep to what he had concluded on, and advance no farther : Besides, he told 'em That *Sedan* was indeed a very good Place, but, he was confident, that it could not hold out long against a great Army ; because there were two Posts near it, which they could not maintain ; and they being taken, the Town must undoubtedly follow them. That when-ever they made any account of *Sedan*, they must, at the same time, consider how to gather thither an Army, that should be able to enter *France*, and to hazard a Battle there immediately. Thus the Conversation ended ; and at Night, the Cardinal being come from *Ruel*, the Duke of *Bouillon* went to find him, and was told, that when he pleas'd he might be going to *Turenne*.

The Duke of *Bouillon* now seeing his Departure to be at his own Disposal ; the first Thought that came into his Mind, was to return to *Paris*, to take his leave of *Monsieur*, before *Cinqmars* should have time to prepare him to make fresh Instances, concerning *Sedan*, and the Treaty with *Spain*.

The Duke of *Bouillon* was scarce come to *Luxemburgb-House*, where *Monsieur* lodg'd then, but *de Thou* came to tell him, that an Account was just come to the King, That *Mareschal de Guebriant* had defeated *Lamboy*, the General of the Imperial Army. This gave the Duke of *Bouillon* occasion to tell *Monsieur* in private, that the News could not but make him consider, that after this Blow, which the *Spaniards* had received, it was easie to judge, that nothing could be expected from them; and that *Mareschal Guebriant* being posted so advantageously as he was, their Affairs would be entirely ruin'd in *Flanders*, should the *Hollanders* never so little favour *France*. To which *Monsieur* answered never a Word.

The same day *de Thou* received a Billet from *Cinqmars*, which desired him to endeavour that the Duke of *Bouillon* might come and lie at *St. Germain*s. He shew'd it to the Duke, who told him he had heard that *Monsieur* was gone thither, and it was easie to guess, that this was the Reason why *Cinqmars* was so pressing for his coming; but that he could not go to take his leave of the King, till *Monsieur* was returned to *Paris*; as indeed he was at that time.

When the Duke of *Bouillon* came to bid the Cardinal adieu, that which pass'd between 'em, was, in Reality, nothing but a Repetition of what was said the same day that the Cardinal had propos'd to him this Employment in *Italy*: but he added this Excess of Civility, That he himself would carry him to the King to take his leave.

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The Duke of *Bouillon* and *Cinqmars* parted likewise, without having any thing that was new pass between 'em. The Duke staying two or three days in *Paris*, upon his own private Concerns, *Cinqmars* came to bid him once more adieu, and renew'd to him all the Protestations of Friendship that he had already made him.

The Duke of *Bouillon* passing through *Limoges*, *Fontrailles* came thither almost as soon as he, and making him a Visit at the Bishop of *Limoges* his Pallace, where he lodg'd, told him that he was going to *Madrid* upon *Monsieur's* Account, to Treat with the *Spaniards*; and that looking upon him as the Person on whom the Weight of all their Affairs must lie, he desir'd him, above all things, to take care of the Preservation of his Person. To this the Duke answered, That he could not comprehend but that *Monsieur* had entirely abandon'd the Design of this Treaty, after what he had represented to him concerning the State of the *Spanish* Affairs in *Flanders*, since the Defeat of *Lamboy*: That, for his own part, he might easily perceive that this ill Success had not chang'd his former Dispositions; and so he desired him not to mention his Name upon any Account, throughout the whole Negotiation; because he was now more resolv'd than ever, not to enter into any Treaty with the *Spaniards* during his whole Life.

*Fontrailles* us'd all his Endeavours to draw some word from him, that might not be so pe-remptory; but his Reasons could not prevail, the Duke still repeating the same thing.

Towards the end of *March*, *Monmort* going to *Tbolouse*, rode Post through *Turenne*. He

was a Gentleman of Quality and Merit, devoted to *Cinqmars*, and more his Confident than *Fontrailles* himself; *Cinqmars* had charg'd him to tell the Duke, That it was a thing of the greatest Importance to them, that he should speak with him once more, he desired him instantly to take his Measures so, that in going into *Italy*, he might meet him at *Lyons*, when the King should pass that way in his Journey to *Catalonia*. But on the contrary, the Duke of *Bouillon* delayed his Departure, on purpose that he might not meet him there; not only that he might avoid the trouble of new Proposals, but because *Cinqmars* had appointed a great number of Gentlemen of *Auvergne*, his Friends, to meet him there, which caus'd the Duke to make his Reflections upon what *Fontrailles* had said; That there were more secure and expeditious Methods for the ruining the Cardinal, than an open War.

The Duke of *Bouillon* therefore did not part from *Turenne*, before he judg'd by the News he receiv'd from Court, that it was already remov'd from *Lyons*, and so he could not meet it in his way. The Dutcheß of *Bouillon* bore him Company for some days, and afterwards returned to *Sedan*, with her Children.

When the Duke of *Bouillon* lay at *Tarare* near *Lyons*, *Monmort* came thither Post the same Night. *Cinqmars* had sent him after the Duke of *Bouillon*, to tell him, that the Cardinal lay a dying: That, for himself, he had never been so much in the King's Favour as he was at present; and so he hop'd, in a little time, the Duke

of

of *Bouillon* would have no cause to repent his having admitted him to such a share in his Friendship.

*Monmort* added farther, That *Fontrailles* was come back from *Madrid* with a Treaty Sign'd in as ample manner as *Monsieur* had desir'd, but in the condition that the Cardinal was then, there would be no need of it.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, after having answer'd *Cinqmars* his Complements, desir'd *Monmort* to tell him, that *Monsieur* was very happy that he should be in no want of Spanish Succors, because by a Letter that he had receiv'd from *Liege*, he was better assur'd than ever, that they were not able to spare him any that would be considerable.

The Cardinal was really very sick some few days after his departure from *Lyons*, and continued so upon the Rode, and was carried to *Tarascon*, whilst the King went to the Siege of *Perpignan*: but it was not his Illness only that oblig'd him to stay there. The Power which *Cinqmars* had over the King, was so far increas'd, during this Journey, that the Cardinal thought he had reason to be much afraid of it; and if the publick saw plainly this advance in the King's Favour, by the exterior marks of it: the Cardinal saw still better by what pass'd in the management of Affairs, and the manner that the King often us'd to speak to him concerning this Favourite: *Cinqmars* himself was so far from concealing this Happiness, that he lost no opportunity of having it took notice of.

It seem'd to the Cardinal, that the King was wholly alter'd as to him, and that the Face of  
the

the Court chang'd likewise in favour of *Cinqmars*. In short, this Minister, and his Creatures, lay under such great uncertainties, that he had it in deliberation, whether instead of going to the King when his health would permit, he should not wholly retreat and write him word, that the occasion of his removal was, because he could no longer have any security for himself near his Person; *Cinqmars* being his declar'd Enemy, and having engag'd almost the whole Court in his Cabal.

In the mean time the King fell sick before *Perpignan*, and was carried to *Narbonne*, where it was infallibly believ'd he would have died.

*Cinqmars* sent a Courier to *Monsieur* to acquaint him with it. He was advanc'd as far as *Bourbon*, under pretence of drinking the Waters, and he had no sooner receiv'd the news of the King's Condition; but that he sent the Count *D' Aubijoux* Post away to find the Duke of *Bouillon* with all Diligence.

*D' Aubijoux* carried only a single Credential, and was to demand of the Duke of *Bouillon* the necessary Orders for the receiving of *Monsieur*, the Queen, and her two Children into *Sedan*.

*D' Aubijoux* had contracted a very strict Friendship with the Duke of *Bouillon*. He was a Man of great Quality, of the Family of *D' Amboise*, and had the reputation of much Honour and Courage. The Duke of *Bouillon* kept him three days conceal'd in the Camp, not being able to determine what to do, and in the Conversation they had together, the Duke of *Bouillon* oftentimes repeated to him the same things he had already told to *Monsieur*, when he saw him

him at *Venice House*, and they spoke about *Sedan*, the Treaty with *Spain*, and what was to be done if the King should chance to die. For indeed the more the Duke thought of it, he was the less able to comprehend, that the Queen and *Monsieur* should ever imagine, that upon the King's Death they should be oblig'd to leave the Kingdom: so that when he join'd these Arguments which possess'd his Mind, to the memory of what had pass'd between *Monsieur*, *Cinqmars*, and himself, he could scarce doubt but this last instance about *Sedan* was a pure Artifice of *Cinqmars*. The Pretext of providing a Retreat for the Queen, her Children, and *Monsieur*, was very plausible and glorious for the Duke of *Bouillon*: But he had all the reason in the World to fear, lest by this Engagement he should find himself Embark'd with the *Spaniards*, to maintain a Civil War against his own Inclinations.

In the mean time, *D' Aubijoux*, who knew with what impatience his return was expected, omitted nothing that might remove the Duke's Suspicions, and the Duke of *Bouillon* did not doubt but that if they had a design of deceiving him, they would not have begun it with deceiving *D' Aubijoux*: Besides, he had been several times assur'd by *D' Aubijoux*, that he was too much his Servant not to admonish him: That if he should send him back, without agreeing to any thing, he might be certain, *Monsieur* would resent it mortally; and if the King, as it was probable, should dye at *Narbonne*, it was easy to apprehend, that in the posture things would be then, it would be of no small consequence, to have



have the Cardinal for his conceal'd Enemy , and *Monsieur* for his profest one.

The Duke of *Bouillon* had resisted all these Considerations : but at last there arriv'd an express from Court, with Letters for him and several Officers in the Army, which all imported, That the King's Life was despaired of.

Then the Duke of *Bouillon* fix'd his resolution, and gave *D' Aubijoux* the Letters he demanded ; but with this precaution , that he made him swear, they should not go out of his hands till after the King's Death ; and that if the King should recover , he would keep 'em to give him again, or else burn 'em, if he found any danger like to be in preserving them.

Whatever hast *D' Aubijoux* could make, he found things strangely alter'd at his return. The King was out of Danger , and the Cardinal, amidst his Fears and Uncertainties, had advice of the Journey which *Fontrailles* had made to *Madrid* ; and waiting till he could learn more , he in the mean time sent *Chavigni* , Secretary of State , to acquaint the King with it , but gave him express Order to engage his Majesty , upon his Conscience, to keep the Secret. However *Cinqmars* perceived some alteration in the King. He spoke of it to *Fontrailles*, who advis'd him to retire to *Monsieur*. *Fontrailles* seeing he could not perswade him to take this Resolution , gave the Duke of *Espernon* a Challenge, that he might have a pretence to go from Court , without increasing the suspicions that might arise against *Cinqmars*, by his absence : after this he disguis'd himself, and got safe into *England*.

*Cinqmars* sent *Monsieur* advice how things stood.

stood. *Monsieur* desired him to come to *Moulin's* at a day appointed, and that he was resolv'd to get out of the Kingdom by the way of *Franche-Comté*.

In the mean time, the Cardinal who set every thing at Work, to discover the cause of *Fontrailles's* Journey, by some means got a Copy of the Treaty with *Spain*; though no one could ever yet learn, how he came by it, nor from whom. The same moment he sent *Chavigni* to shew it to the King, with Orders to assure his Majesty, that this Copy was taken from the Original, and that, upon his Life, he should have Proofs of it. *Cinqmars* and *de Thou* were immediately Arrested, and necessary Orders were dispatch'd with speed for the Observation of *Monsieur*. But when he saw that he had lost the Opportunity of saving himself by the *Franche-Comté*, he be thought himself of sending the Abbot *de la Riviere*, who was his Favourite to the Court. He gave him a Letter to the Cardinal, which express'd his hearty Repentance in very passionate Terms, and his Desire that his Pardon might be owing to him. The King, at the Cardinal's Intercession, promis'd to forgive him all, upon Condition, That *Monsieur* should declare the Truth. In short, the Abbot *de la Riviere* manag'd the business so well, that his Master, mov'd with the Cardinal's Proceedings, and the King's Goodness, confess'd, in general, what had pass'd, excus'd himself for having burnt the Original of the *Spanish* Treaty: gave a Copy of it, which he signed to certify it, and made it be counter-sign'd by the Secretary of his Dispatches.

When

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When the Cardinal had got so important a Piece in his hands, he sent a Dispatch to *Paris*, to order the Chancellour to come with all speed, that He with the Commissaries might frame a Process against *Cinqmars* and *de Thou*: In the mean time they were sent to *Lyons*: and because *Fontrailles*, to give the *Spaniards* a greater Idea of the Party, had not omitted the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Name in the Treaty, notwithstanding all his Precautions; and had assured them that he would ratifie it, and deliver *Sedan* for a Place of Retreat, a Messenger was dispatch'd with great Speed into *Italy*, to have him Arrested.

The Orders were directed to the General Officers that commanded under him, the Count *du Pleffis-Praslin*, *Couvonges*, and *Castelan*: When they had all three consulted together, about the Manner how they should put them in Execution, they agreed, that they ought to defer it till the next day, when the Duke of *Bouillon* would go to visit the Cittadel of *Casal*, judging they could not, without danger, attempt to Arrest him at the Head of the Army; so great was the Veneration they had for him, and the Esteem that he had gain'd among them. He had found so extravagant a Licentiousness in the Army, that nothing was wanting to a Revolt, but a Man to Head 'em; and yet by his great Cares, and the perfect Knowledge he had in the Orders of War, he had reduc'd it, in six Weeks time, to a most exemplary Discipline, without the Execution of more than two Soldiers: so that perhaps never any General, in so little time, gain'd the Reputation of a Great Commander, without

out besieging any Place, or fighting any Battle, or having any considerable Enemy to make Head against him.

The Army was then near *Casal*, *Couvonges* who was Governour of it went thither betimes, to set all things in order. The Duke of *Bouillon* carried *Castelan* along with him, and left the Count *du Plessis* to command in the Camp.

After the Duke of *Bouillon* had supp'd in the Cittadel, he went down into the Town, where his Lodgings were prepared, and by the way meeting with an Officer, that was just come from the Army; he ask'd him what News from thence? the Officer told him, he knew of none, but that if there were any he might be inform'd of it by the Count *du Plessis*, who had arriv'd there long before him. The Duke of *Bouillon* turning himself to *Couvonges*, told him, that he did not understand what the Count *du Plessis* meant, by leaving the Army without his Order. *Couvonges* answer'd him with much Concern, that he had been at *Casal* but one Moment: and drawing nearer, gave him in his Ear so mean an Excuse for his coming, that the Duke of *Bouillon* began to have some Suspensions, and immediately after retired to his Chamber, saying he wou' write his Dispatches.

*Couvonges*, who had taken notice of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Surprise, as the Duke had likewise done of his, went immediately to the Count *du Plessis* to tell him what had happen'd. He had conceal'd him in a Lodging near the Duke of *Bouillon*, for they had resolv'd among themselves, not

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not to Arrest him till he should be in Bed. The Chance fell to *Couvonges* to carry him word of it; but he had already conceiv'd so much Esteem and Respect for the Duke of *Bouillon*, that he could never bring himself to the Resolution of Arresting him in the Cittadel, and it seem'd to him, that by Arresting him in the Town, he should only break the Laws of Hospitality in a less Degree, and have fewer Difficulties in effecting a Design that could never be defended. *Couvonges* having related to the Count *du Plessis* and *Castelan* what had pass'd between the Duke of *Bouillon* and himself, they both judg'd that there would be danger in deferring the Execution one Moment. *Couvonges* return'd directly to the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Chamber, and finding him walking there desired a word with him in private, pretending that a Spy had brought him considerable News from the Enemy. When the Duke of *Bouillon* had order'd those about him to retire; *Couvonges* began with the Compliments that are usual upon such Occasions, that he was extremely concern'd at the Orders he had received from the King to Arrest him as his Prisoner. The Duke of *Bouillon* told him, that if he had an Order it was Counterfeited, and desired to see it. *Couvonges* told him, that he had left it with the Count *du Plessis*, who was not far off. Then the Duke of *Bouillon* bad him go fetch it; and, laying his hand upon his Sword, told him, He knew nothing that might hinder him from running it through his Body, for having understood his Duty so little, as to dare to Arrest such a Person as he was, without the Order for it in his Hand. *Couvonges* having been concern'd  
before

before at his undertaking this thing, and more troubled now at this Accident, return'd to *Praslin* who was then in the Court.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, without losing time, or making any noise, put out the Lights in his Chamber, and got into the street by a Back-door, there he met *St. Aubin* who was his Harbinger. After having intrusted him with the Condition he was in, he bid him follow him, took his Cloak the better to disguise himself, and went directly to the Rampiers, to try if they could find a place by which they might escape: but he judg'd it impossible, after having thrown down stones in several places, to learn the height of the Walls. *St. Aubin* offer'd to cast himself down to make a more certain Proof of the Danger. But the Duke of *Bouillon* thought it plain enough already, and would not consent to it.

At this time, seeing they were going the Round, the Duke of *Bouillon* retir'd back; he stay'd among some Ruines, and sent *St. Aubin* to the Town, to see what had pass'd there, and to buy some Ropes, not despairing still, but by the favour of the Night, he should make his Escape over the Wall. But *St. Aubin* came back the moment after, and told him there were Guards at all the Avenues, which hinder'd Folks from passing, and that a Soldier had told him, that all the People were in Arms, upon a Report which was spread, That the Duke of *Bouillon* would deliver *Casal* to the *Spaniards*. The Duke of *Bouillon* imagining, that perhaps *St. Aubin* might be in greater Apprehensions than he had grounds for, went to the Place that he saw him come from,

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from, and found there that not only what *St. Aubin* had told him was true, but heard himself likewise proscrit'd : for 'twas proclaim'd by the Sound of Trumpet, That he who took him alive or dead should receive a Thousand Pistols.

In this Extremity the Duke finding himself near a Court through which there was no Passage, and seeing a Victualling-House thereabouts, he went into it under pretence of Drinking. He found no Body in the House but one Woman. But the Husband, who had run out upon the Noise in the Town, came back soon after, and told him all he had heard concerning this Disorder. The Duke of *Bouillon*, seeing he had nothing else to trust to, thought of engaging this Fellow; and because he imagin'd he should work better upon him in his Wife's Absence, he gave her Money to go fetch some Wine. Then he discovered himself to the Husband, gave him his Purse, in which were about Twenty or Thirty Pieces of Gold, with a Promise to make his Fortune. In short, the Duke had gain'd so far upon him, that before his Wife was return'd, *St. Aubin* was gone back with Orders concerning what was to be done, and the Man had hid the Duke in a Hay-loft, after he had promis'd to effect his Escape the Night following, and that he would say nothing of it to his Wife. But he could not forbear imparting this Secret to her, nor his Wife delay going to reveal it to *Courvonges* betimes the next Morning. *Courvonges* went immediately to see if the Advice were true, and made some Soldiers get up into the Hay-loft. The Duke of *Bouillon* finding himself discover'd, drew his Sword, and threatned to



to kill the first Man that came near him. There was one that fir'd a Pistol at him, but it did not go off. Then *Couvonges*, hearing the Bustle, got up presently by a Rope-Ladder, and told the Soldiers he would hang up the first Man that should touch the Duke of *Bouillon*.

The Commotion was so great and so general throughout *Casal*, by reason of the Hatred, which they bore the *Spaniards*, and the Report, which had been spread, That the Duke would make 'em Masters of the Place; that, what-ever Care they could take, yet, it was a great deal of Trouble to secure him from the Fury of the People, when he pass'd through the Town. But because the Orders were to carry the Duke immediately to the Castle of *Pierre-Encise*, they put him bound into a Coach, with such a Guard, as might shew of what Importance they judg'd his Escape might be to them.

*Cinqmars* and *de Thon* were already in the Castle, when the Duke of *Bouillon* came thither. The same day they found an Opportunity of conveighing a Billet to him, which gave him a perfect Insight into the Posture of Affairs. For the generality it is a great Comfort and Advantage to a Prisoner to receive News, but the Duke of *Bouillon* at present paid very dear for both of them.

It is impossible to express his Indignation, when he found that *Fontrailles* had not only as from *Monsieur* promis'd the King of *Spain*, that the Duke of *Bouillon* would enter into the Treaty, and deliver up *Sedan* as a Place of Retreat; but that in the same Treaty he had requested, and obtain'd a Pension for him. We may guess

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likewise what Addition it was to his Trouble, to find that *Monsieur* having given a Copy of the Treaty in Form, had not mentioned in the Declaration he had join'd to it, what the Conditions were, upon which, and no other, the Duke of *Bouillon* had promis'd to receive him into *Sedan*; for this Point was not clear'd, either because *Monsieur* durst not disavow what *Fontrailles* had done in his Name, in a Treaty now made publick; or that it was too great a Mortification to shew the King what Projects he had laid upon his Death, and to let the Cardinal see, how much he was afraid of him.

In the mean time, the Chancellour, with great diligence, had given Instructions for the Proceſs against *Cinqmars* and *de Thou*, who were both condemn'd to be beheaded; one, as the Author of a Treaty with *Spain*, the other, for knowing and yet not revealing it.

It is not poſſible for a Man to go to his Death, with more Courage, or greater marks of a Chriſtian Piety, than both of them demonſtrated. *Cinqmars*, being ready to mount the Scaffold, wrote to his Mother, to deſire her, to pay ſome of his Creditours; and ſhew'd in the Letter both the Tranquillity of his Mind, and the Care he had of his Conſcience.

*De Thou*, being better read in Divinity, made admirable Diſcourſes upon the Pſalms and New Teſtament. There appear'd in all his Expreſſions a lively Faith, and an entire Reſignation as to things of this World: yet, in ſhort, though in this laſt Action of their Lives, they both of 'em gave equal Demonſtrations of their Conſtancy, yet it is hard, conſidering the Diſproportion

proportion of their Age and Fortune, not to be so favourable to *Cinqmars*, as to allow him some larger Proportion of the Glory.

The Duke of *Bouillon* having but a small Knowledge in the Laws of the Kingdom, was perswaded, that he had acted only like a Man of Honour, in not revealing his Friends Secret, and it was sufficient to excuse him from any Guilt of Treason, That he had never given any Powers, nor signed any Treaty that was made with *Spain*. But when he heard of *de Thou's* Condemnation, he doubted not of his own Ruine, and for three days, that he continued without receiving any News, he did nothing but prepare himself for Death. However no Sentence was pronounc'd against him, either for want of Proofs, or through the Instances made by the Viscount *Turenne* his Brother, who was very Considerable, and grew daily more so, by his extraordinary Actions and signal Services.

But that which contributed more effectually than any thing to the Duke of *Bouillon's* Safety, was, That as soon as ever his Dutches had the News of his Seizure, she dispatched her Sister-in-Law, *Mademoiselle de Bouillon*, who was a Princess of great Parts, and capable of Business, immediately away to Court. She ordered her to tell the Cardinal from Her, That, if he put her Husband to death, she would deliver *Sedan* to the *Spaniards*; and that he need not doubt it, since she had already sent to 'em to come thither. But when *Mademoiselle de Bouillon* saw *de Thou* executed, she went back to the Cardinal, to tell him, she had full Power to negotiate with him, and to engage in any thing for the Duke of *Bouillon's* Life and Liberty.

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At last the Treaty was concluded on. It was Agreed, That the King should have *Sedan*, and that he should give the Duke an Equivalent in Lands within the Kingdom; That, whilst these Articles were in Execution, the Duke of *Bouillon* should come out of Prison, and the King's Troops enter into *Sedan*.

*Macarime*, one of Cardinal *Richieu's* Creatures, was sent thither to take Possession for the King, and to give all necessary Securities: The Dutcheß of *Bouillon* being likewise perswaded, That both her Husband's Life and Liberty depended upon the rendring up of *Sedan*, parted with it as willingly as she would have receiv'd a considerable Favour, and went to *Turenne*, to meet the Duke of *Bouillon*, who was retired thither.

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THE

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THE  
Third BOOK.

**T**HE Year before, The Duke of *Bouillon* arriv'd at *Turenne*, after having gain'd a Victory, and making so advantageous a Peace, that his Glory had spread it self throughout all *Europe*: but now he came just out of a Prison, where he had been in great danger of his Life, depriv'd likewise of the Sovereignty of one of the best places in the World. This unhappy State which render'd him no farther now considerable than his own Personal Merit could make him, yet did not hinder the Nobility of the Neighbouring Provinces from coming in large Companies to visit him: and since they expected to find his thoughts in a posture conformable to his Affairs, they could not but admire to see no manner of alteration in so different a Fortune.

He convers'd with every one as he used to do before, agreeably to their humour, and the quality of their Persons: But he never enter'd upon any Apology for what had pass'd, nor any insinuation of the hopes he might conceive for the future. As for the rest of his time he took exact Cognizance of his Revenue, and the condition of his Estate; he enquir'd into the manage-

ment of his Servants. In several places he set up Fathers to preach against the Reformed Religion, which most of the Inhabitants thereabouts profest: and he himself enter'd so far into the Controversy, as to dispute with divers Gentlemen, some of which recanted afterwards: and in their private Affairs, he decided several Cases, and reconciled as many differences. He spent everyday a set number of hours in reading, and particularly in the perusal of the ancient Fathers. He often hunted as well for Exercise as Diversion. He made very few Visits, because tho' Cardinal *Richlieu* look'd upon him as a Prince that was fallen beyond retrieve; yet he could not but have regard to him as an Enemy that would be ready for any undertaking, when a favourable opportunity should present it self, either for his Revenge, or the Reestablishment of his Affairs. Besides, he had notice that the Intendants and Governours of the Neighbouring Provinces had Orders to observe him. So he look'd upon *Turenne*, and his other Seats, as the places of his Exile. But by comporting himself after the manner I have spoke of, it is easie to judge that he was not dejected at it, and that it only encreased the esteem they had already conceived of him. So true a thing it is, That when Fortune has reduced Great Men to a private Life, they are able to employ themselves so well as to maintain their Bravery and their Glory.

Five or six Months after his continuance at *Turenne*, Cardinal *Richlieu* died at *Paris*. The very moment that the Duke of *Bouillon* received the News, he ordered Prayers to be said for him

him in the Places that belong'd to him ; either out of the pure Motive of Christian Charity ; or else because a Personal Hatred makes so little Impression upon Men of great Souls, that they cannot carry it to the Graves of their most mortal Enemies.

The Duke of *Bouillon* did not change his Conduct upon the Death of Cardinal *Richlieu*, but the Death of the King, which happened four or five Months after , made him take up new Resolutions. Seeing the Queen was declared Regent, and *Monsieur* the Duke of *Orleans* President of the Council ; the Duke of *Bouillon* had Reason to believe, and all *France* thought the same, That he could never expect a more favourable Conjunction. He therefore went for *Paris*. He was very kindly receiv'd by the Queen and *Monsieur* the Duke of *Orleans*, and the whole Court look'd upon him as a Person that could not fail of re-entring *Sedan*, and becoming more considerable now than ever. In the mean time, he perceived , by degrees, that their way of Treating him began to be much cooler than at first ; and the Silence, as to his Affairs, which accompanied this Change, began to let him apprehend, that if they had not intirely forgot the Losses he had sustain'd, and the Dangers he had run through, yet at least that Remembrance of them which remain'd, serv'd rather to make his Presence seem importunate, than to inspire any Sentiments that might be to his Advantage. There could be no Addition to the Grief he conceiv'd at seeing himself in so different a Condition from what he might reasonably have expected : but he thought it Prudence to dissemble the



the Knowledge he had of this Misfortune, and, in the mean time, that he might be certain what to rely upon, he judg'd it convenient to demand an Audience of the Queen and *Monsieur*. They both promis'd him one. But after having waited several days, to have a time assign'd him, they remitted him, at last, to the Abbot *de la Riviere*, whom they ordered to go and conferr with him, concerning his Pretensions.

The Duke of *Bouillon* declared to him, That he was willing to execute the Treaty, as to the Exchange of *Sedan*. But it being impossible that the Valuations that were to be made, the Confirmations, and several other Formalities, that were absolutely necessary, should be finished under several Years, he desired, that, in the mean time, they would put him in Possession of the Place. Not that he had any design of keeping it; but, on the contrary, would, without any trouble, restore it into the King's hands the very moment that his Equivalent was ready. That if it were so at present, he would make no Scruple in receiving it: But he foresaw Delays and infinite Disputes would arise if they should proceed in this Affair, without having first delivered him *Sedan*; because then they would treat of it as a Business that regarded him only: whereas if they saw him re-establish'd, they would look upon it as the King's Concern, for the extending of his Frontiers by the Acquisition of a Sovereignty, and a Place so very strong, and so very important. That if none of those Reasons would move the Queen and *Monsieur*, he thought it his Duty to take the Liberty of representing

to them, That both of them might die before things might be in a Condition of being settled; that then the Loss to his Family would be inevitable; and that after all that had happened heretofore, they were bound both in Honour and Conscience, not to let him be expos'd to this utmost Misfortune. He added farther; That her Majesty and his Royal Highness were the two People in the World that had least Reason to distrust him; nevertheless, to shew the Sincerity with which he would proceed, he offered to give them what-ever Precautions they desired, even to the Delivery of his Children for Hostages.

The Abbot *de la Riviere* answered the Duke of *Bouillon* with abundance of Compliments. But he told him, that having no farther Orders than to hear him, all that he could do was only to assure him, that he would report faithfully what-ever had been spoken, and it should not be his Fault, if he had not a favourable and a speedy Answer.

The Abbot *de la Riviere* as being *Monsieur's* declared Favourite, had for a long time had a great part in the most important Affairs of State, especially during the Regency. He was born at *Paris*, of a poor and mean Family. He was a Scholar: He had Wit, and made an agreeable Use of it, in every thing that might serve for his Master's Diversion. This was the chief Foundation upon which he rais'd himself. But after having been the Servant and Comptroller of his Master's Pleasures, he became so likewise of his Affairs and Fortune. He was a Courtier that studied his own Interest, rough and passionate

nate at home, complaisant and submissive to all that were above him, but rude and insupportable to all the World beside.

During the Minority he was nam'd for a Cardinal. In the mean time, *Monsieur* perceived that he discover'd his Secrets to hasten his own Promotion at *Rome*, and advance his Fortune at Court. Then *Monsieur* abandon'd him for ever; but this Disgrace did not hinder him from dying Bishop and Duke of *Langres*, and in great Wealth; yet condemned of all Men for having pass'd his Life without the gaining of one Friend, and still more blameable, for never seeing any of his Relations from the first Advancement of his Fortunes.

The Duke of *Bouillon* waited several days for an Answer to the Conference he had with the Abbot *de la Riviere*, and seeing that sometimes upon one Pretence, and sometimes another, he deferr'd the giving him any, he thought it his best way to address himself directly to the Queen and *Monsieur*. But they avoided speaking with him, and that with such an Aire, as plainly shew'd him that they did not like his Proposals. Then he return'd to the Abbot *de la Riviere*, to inform him farther concerning his Pretensions. After having enquired for him several times in vain, the Duke happen'd one day to be in his Anti-Chamber, when several Persons of Quality were coming from him; he ask'd likewise to see him, but a *Valet de Chambre* came to tell him in their Presence, that he was gone abroad. This Usage put the Duke of *Bouillon* out of all Patience. He could not refrain being in a Fury, and  
telling

telling the *Valet* aloud, that if it were not out of Respect to *Monsieur*, he would treat his Master after such a manner, that he should have Cause to remember so base a Proceeding as long as he liv'd. This Encounter was nois'd abroad the same day: and since Services which are above Reward, often produce as dangerous Effects as Injuries; The Queen and *Monsieur* took this Pretence of ridding themselves of the Duke of *Bouillon* and his Pretensions. They propos'd to the Council to have him Arrested. He was advis'd of it, and, without taking leave, went Post to *Turenne*.

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Some

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# SOME PARTICULARS

Concerning the

# L I F E

O F

HENRY *de la Tour d' Auvergne,*

Viscount *TURENNE.*

**I** Don't pretend to give you here the Life of the Viscount *Turenne*. I wish, for his Glory, that there might be found a Man more daring than my self, and who had Abilities equal to a Design so vast, and withal so difficult, by reason of the Greatness of the Subject. But though no Person would undertake it, yet there is no need to fear, that the Memory of his Glorious Actions would be ever lost. It is impossible without Writing his History, to give an Account of what pass'd in *France* for forty Years together. However since I had the Honour, for several Years, to be engag'd with him in Affairs of the greatest, as well as smallest Consequence; and that it often happens to *Historians*

ans to be ignorant of, or else to neglect some Essential Particulars; I shall endeavour by some Historical as well as private Proceedings, to leave Posterity a True Idea of so great a Man. What I shall say in Honour of his Memory, will deserve the greater Credit, because I am so far from being render'd suspicious by the Favours he has done me, that he has ruin'd my Fortune beyond Retrieve: However I owe Him this Justice, to confess he did it without any Design of Injuring me.

*Henry de la Tour d' Auvergne*, Viscount *Turenne*, was of a mean Stature. He was neither fat nor lean. In his Gate and Behaviour there appear'd less of Boldness, than Modesty and Caution. His Hair was brown, his Head big, and bowing a little forwards: his Complexion ruddy; his Eyes large and sprightly, but covered with great Eye-brows that met both together. His Face was regular enough; and yet there was a pleasant Air join'd to something that was cloudy in it; which Mixture made a Physiognomy that was extraordinary, and very difficult to be painted.

In his Childhood he was of a tender Complexion; nor had he his Health well, till after he was Twenty. He was not above Nine or Ten years old, when, having stoln from his Governour, and being sought for a long time, he was found upon the Rampiers of *Sedan*, laid down to sleep upon the Carriage of a Cannon, being resolv'd to pass the Night there. He had heard his Father the Duke of *Bouillon* often say, That it would be a great while before he would  
be



he able to endure the Fatigues of War : and the Young Prince thought this was a Proof sufficient to undeceive him. He began his first Service in *Holland* under the Prince of *Orange*, his Uncle, and was sent thither when he was but fourteen Years old.

He had naturally an extraordinary Inclination to War; which being very much heighten'd by the Desire of Glory, He apply'd himself so earnestly to that Art, that in his Childhood he seem'd to be truly sensible of no other Passion. He acquired a great Reputation in a little time, and being in War all his Life, and living till 63. he at last, in all Mens Opinion, seem'd fit to be compared to the greatest Generals among the Ancients. He was born with a great deal of Spirit, but was less Remarkable for a Quick and Easy Wit, than for a Profound Judgment: In Matters that were pressing, and of Consequence, he determin'd without Suspence, and continued firm and faithful to the Side which he had taken; but he was better at foreseeing the End propos'd, than in providing for the different Means by which it was attainable.

He pass'd his Life without any Personal Quarrel, however in the beginning he did not always serve under Persons for whom he had much Esteem; several likewise serv'd under him, that had no greater Value for him: and he was join'd in Command with others, whose Humour and Manners were very inconsistent with his own; and the more so, by reason of the Emulation and Jealousie which they had of his Glory: for

besides that he gave no Credit to Reports, and that he despised such things as were spoke against him, He was always intent upon some great Design, and troubled himself with very few things that were not a real Obstacle to it.

He was never tempted by the Assurance of a present Success to any Enterprize that might advance his own Glory, when he thought it would interrupt the Course of a Design, greater and more useful for the State, though at a farther distance: and naturally he was so set upon the Publick Good, that, to promote it, he often sacrific'd his Private Fortune, and sometimes hazarded his own Reputation.

He was so far from throwing the Blame of ill Accidents upon those Officers he employ'd, that, he never lost any Occasion of encouraging them, when they happened to have met with ill Fortune. Amongst so many Subjects for his Anger and Displeasure, which he must have met withal from the Time he began to be a Commander. He never offended any Body; he was never heard to speak one passionate Word to his Servants; and though he was naturally mild and patient, yet a Vertue so rare, and practised with so much Constancy, could not have been the Effect of his Temper only.

One day when he was preparing to mark out the Lines of a Place which was to be besieged, he found that he wanted some necessary Instruments; and remembring that a Marechal of France, who commanded one of the Attacks, had more than he used, he sent one of his Guards to borrow some of him. The Soldier came

came back very much troubled, and repeated aloud several disagreeable things which the Marechal said when he refused to lend them. The Viscount *Turenne* turning to the Officers near him, *Since he is so angry, (says he) we must e'en let them alone, and do as well as we can without them.* After this he attack'd the Lines, forced them, and gained all the Glory of the Action.

At this last Campagne in *Flanders*, several Courtiers came from the Army very much incens'd against him, but without any reasonable Ground. The Viscount *Turenne*, who did not return till a Month after the King, found that from their private Discontent, they had raised One so general, that there was scarce any Body in the whole Court who did not do himself the Honour of speaking ill, or complaining of him. Several of the Cabal, and some of the first Quality, spoke to him to accommodate Matters, and to clear things with him. All his Answer was, That he would not be at that trouble. It was enough for him to be assured that he had given no Person Reason to complain: that he did not despair but upon some other occasion, where perhaps he might be really to blame, the Gentlemen of the Court would be favourable to him. Afterwards they all came back upon their own accord, as if nothing had passed, and he acted with them as if he had heard nothing of it.

He was incapable of Hatred, but very sensible of Friendship; he was seen to shed Tears in the Streets of *Pontoise*; upon the News he receiv'd at the Gate of the Town; That the Duke of *Bon-*

*illon* his Brother lay there dangerously sick of the Disease whereof he died: and his Tears were so much the more natural and moving, because it was easily seen that he had a Mind to refrain them. He spoke generally of his Brother with so much Modesty and Heartiness, that discoursing with a Friend two or three days after the Duke of *Bouillon's* Death, he said these very Words to him; *It is believed that I know something of War, but there is nothing truer than I might still have learn'd a great deal more from the Duke my Brother; and then for Business, How far was his Talent beyond mine?*

He was not always happy in the Choice of his Friends; however he bewailed the Death of several of them: and his natural Goodness was so great, that he was never hardened by all the Blood he had seen spilt. Nor could he hinder himself from having always in his Mind the Design of Promoting some Person or other, notwithstanding so much Ingratitude as he had met with.

For several Years he had no good Success in War, nay, he was look'd upon as unfortunate; however in those Encounters wherein he did not succeed, Fame has always done Justice to his Courage and Conduct, and he has often acquired more Glory, than those who had gained the Advantage over him. He had a very great Ambition, which the Conjunction of the Times, and his own Prudence, made him, for the most part, moderate, or else conceal: but if he had lived in some past Ages, that have been favourable to Conquerours, though he would have set no Bounds to his own Glory, yet

yet he easily would have done it to his Fortunes.

During the Regency in the Year 1649. *Paris* took Arms to drive out the Cardinal *Mazarine*; the Viscount *Turenne* (either by the Fatal Constellation which reigned then, or through the Discontent he had conceived at that Minister, in regard of his private Fortune, and that of his Family) took a Resolution contrary to the Interest of the Cardinal, but which he did not look upon as against the publick Good of the Kingdom. He commanded the Army in *Germany*, which consisted of between 12 and 15000 Men, most Strangers; they had a very great Veneration for him, which was owing not only to his Merit, but to his Impartiality, and way of Living amongst his Officers; besides the greatest part of them were beholden to him for their Advancement, having scarce any Correspondence at Court but through his Means. In short, the Soldiers being intirely devoted to him, the Principal Officers of the Army, who were absolutely his, engag'd all the others to swear, That they would follow no other General.

This Engagement was published with the Sound of Drums and Trumpets, and the Acclamations of the Soldiers; so that never upon the Change of any Party was there seen perhaps so general a Consent, and the Testimonies of so firm a Dependence. He declared to the *French* and others, who would not enter into his Interest, that he left them Liberty to retire; which very few did.

They marched the next day to enter into France; but upon the third day after, the Viscount *Turenne* being come to *Spire*, to make a Bridge for the Army to pass over, *Longpré*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Foot, of *Vaudescourt*, came in hast to tell him, That *Thouhal* and *Cbust*, two General Officers, that were Strangers, who ow'd all to the Viscount *Turenne*, and in whom he had placed his principal Confidence, had pass'd the Night in treating with *Hervard*, sent by Cardinal *Mazarine*, who carried likewise Orders from the Queen, and several Letters from the Prince of *Conde* to the Officers of the Army; so that being gain'd by large Hopes and great Summs of Money (which *Hervard* advanced upon his Credit, to about 12 or 1300000 Livres) they made all the Army change their Minds, so that they were already marching another way.

This Resolution was so quick and universal, that the same Troops, which a few days before had shew'd so great a Zeal for the Viscount *Turenne*, had infallibly seized him Prisoner, if without losing any time, he had not made his Escape: And this was the first time that he understood how little Security there is for the Life and Fortune of Men, when they ground it only upon a Power which is usurped. In the mean time, as it was impossible so extraordinary an Encounter should not have suitable Consequences, the Viscount *Turenne*, the Campaign following, was at the Head of a Spanish Army, to procure the Deliverance of the Princes of *Conde* and *Conti*, and fought the Battel of *Rotbel*. He lost it, and when he saw himself out of Condition

tion to think of any thing but the Safety of his own Person; he got apart from those that were flying, mounted upon a wounded Horse, and was followed only by *la Barge*, Lieutenant of his Guards, whose Horse was wounded likewise; after a little time they saw Five Troopers riding full speed up to them; *la Barge* told the Viscount *Turenne*, *I have but one Pistol to discharge, and you have fir'd all yours; Sir, What will you do? Die* (says he) *la Barge, rather than return into France to serve for a Spectacle.* Then they were set upon by two of these Troopers, who advanced before the rest; *la Barge* went to one and killed him with his Pistol; the other coming up to the Viscount *Turenne*, took him by the Belt, and offer'd him Quarter, the Viscount *Turenne* killed him with a Blow of his Sword; Of the three that remain'd, one who seem'd to be an Officer shot a Pistol at Viscount *Turenne*, and miss'd him: afterwards they all three retired without attempting any farther; either that they were frightened by the Death of their Companions, or that the Destiny of *France* would reserve this Prince for the several Services it expected from him. In Effect the Viscount *Turenne* had been lost without Recovery, his own Horse and *la Barge's* being no longer able to go: but *la Vaux*, an Officer in the Regiment of *Blereau*, pass'd by at that Instant, and gave his to him to make an Escape. After these two Actions, which he never recollected without Grief and Repentance; Posterity cannot but wonder that he should be the next Year at the Head of one of the King's Armies, and that they should place an entire Confidence in him.



But though there be no Example of an Alteration so quick and great, I leave it to History to shew in the several Particulars, how much, during the whole Remainder of his Life, he shewed himself worthy of it, by his inviolable Fidelity, and extraordinary Services.

He began to repair the Misfortunes which had befallen him in the two preceding Years, by two Actions which he did in the space of 12 or 15 days; one at *Gergeau*, the other at *Blereau*: and because I was there to see them, and that both times he sav'd the Estate and Person of the King, I cannot forbear relating them.

As soon as the Viscount *Turenne* had received necessary Orders for the Command of the Army, he parted from *Blois* where the Court was then, and advanced by the way of *Sully* and *Gien*, to assemble the Troops which were to serve under him. The King went not yet to the War, nor did intermeddle with Affairs, because he was so very young, and the *Queen-Mother* reposed the Government of the State entirely in Cardinal *Mazarine*. Some days after the Departure of Viscount *Turenne*, the King went likewise from *Blois* to go to *Orleans*; but that City had shut it's Gates against him, so he took a Resolution of going to *Gien*. At the time they were passing, without any Præcaution, under the Walls of *Gergeau*, a little Town upon the River *Loire*, the Baron *de Syrop*, who commanded the Army of the *Princes*, attack'd the Bridge of *Gergeau*, with a Design to pass it, and so to fall upon the Court in its March; he was already become Master of the Gate which is on the other side of the River, and was making a Lodgment

Lodgment about the Middle of the Bridge, whilst he raised a Battery of two Pieces of Cannon to beat down the other. The Viscount *Turenne*, who was advanced to cover the King, hearing the Noise of the Musquets, left the Road, and threw himself into *Gergeau*. He found there some Foot, but so ill provided of Ammunition, that the greatest part of the Soldiers had never a Charge of Powder. Seeing the Affair to be of such Importance, he made the Gate be opened, and the Draw-Bridge be let down, and, that the Enemy might hear him, he commanded the Foot which guarded the Curtain, that, upon Pain of Death, no Man should fire without his Order; afterwards having made all those that were with him to alight from their Horses, himself at their Head, he went with his Sword drawn up to the Enemy; chased them from the Lodgment they had made upon the Bridge, and, notwithstanding all their Efforts and their Cannon, which killed or wounded 8 or 10 Persons who were near him, he drove them to the other side of the River, and afterwards broke down two Arches of the Bridge, that he might leave the Court in perfect Security.

The King arrived at *Gien*, the Viscount *Turenne* marched thence to post himself at *Briare* with the Troops he had gathered: and having learn'd that the Marquess *d'Hoquincourt*, who came to join him with a considerable Body, was about *Blereau*; He went to confer with him, and visit his Camp.

The Mareschal *d'Hoquincourt* had a great natural Courage. He was capable of undertaking any

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any thing, and venturing all: but he very often did not use all the care and precaution that might be necessary.

After they had been both to see the Marshal's Quarters, the Viscount *Turenne* told him several times, that he found he lay very open, and that he would advise him to retire by the way of *Briare*. He answer'd still, that he had nothing to fear, and that a good Guard would secure all. In the mean time the Viscount *Turenne* was no sooner upon his return to *Briare*, but the Marshal was attack'd. The Viscount *Turenne* having notice, advis'd the Court of it, and march'd directly to him with the Troops he had at *Briare*, and thereabouts. He sent Orders to those that were at farther distance, to advance immediately by the way which goes from *Briare* to *Blaizeau*, and order'd all the Artillery to march thither. Half a League from *Briare*, he learnt by some who were run away, that the Marshal D' *Hoquincourt* was entirely routed. The News was soon after confirmed by a Prisoner, who assur'd him, that the Enemy were coming to him, and that he had left them upon their march: all the General Officers were of Opinion, that they should go to the Kings Person, as being the only advice could be taken in this Extremity, and with a force so very unequal; but the Viscount *Turenne*, with a vigour of Mind proportionable to the Danger and Importance of the Affairs, scarce staying to Answer them, gave necessary Orders, march'd on, and press'd the Troops to redouble their Diligence. *La Berge* came up to tell him, that every Body murmured, and believed all to be lost, if he did not return to the Kings

Kings Person. The Viscount Turenne Answered him, *That this was a pleasant thing to have recourse to, when Orleans had set such an Example, even before they had received any shock; where will they open their Gates when we shall present our selves Vanquish'd, Flying and Conquered? we must perish or save all.* The day before, as he returned from Monsieur D' Hoquincourt's Quarters, he saw a Marsh, which made a long Defile: the remembrance of this Marsh came then into his Mind, he judg'd by the Reflections which he made on the situation of the Places, that before the Enemy could come to him, they were oblig'd to pass by it. In this Opinion he marched on, and came there so luckily, that he was on one side of the Marsh, at the same time that the Enemies Troops began to appear on the other; he had not then above 3500. Men: however he stopt a Victorious Army consisting of 13, or 14000. and Commanded by the Prince of Conde.

The Court was already much Alarm'd at the Defeat of Marshal d' Hoquincourt, but they were extremely frightened when they heard of the Viscount Turenne's march. For they doubted not but he would fall into the same Misfortune. In this extremity they thought the only Refuge was to get the River Loire between the King and his Enemies, the greatest part of the Equipage was already past: they began to Unfurnish the Queens Apartment, and the Pioneers were ready to break down the Arches of the Bridge, when they heard Viscount Turenne's great Success, and were assur'd, that after having seen the Enemy Retreat to their Quarters, he was come back to Post himself at Briare with his Army.

The

The same Day Cardinal *Mazarine* wrote to him to have his Advice, as to the relation he would send with all speed to *Paris*, and into the Country, to prevent such reports as might be spread there to their disadvantage. This Relation began with the Counsel which the Viscount *Turenne* had given the day before to the Marshal to Retreat by the way of *Briare*. The Viscount *Turenne* struck out this Article, saying, the Marshal was unfortunate enough, without the addition of so disobliging a Circumstance.

He us'd very few words upon all occasions. He was uneasy under all long Discourses, and unnecessary particulars; his great Application sometimes seem'd to confound him, so that the Reasons he often gave were very obscure; his profound thoughtfulness made him often ask Questions out of the way, and pronounce Sentences which had no Connection; he often times took up Aversions which he did not easily lay down, and commonly rather to the Air and Carriage of the Persons, than to the People themselves. For Example, were a Man never so Brave, yet he could not endure that he should use any thing extraordinary for his defence against the weather. As for those that he perfectly despised, let them be of whatsoever quality they would, yet it was with extream regret, that he could bring himself to speak to them, and to keep such decencies with them as might be necessary; and the most assured means of incurring his contempt, was to be Vainglorious, and commend ones self. He was very unwilling People should look upon him as a Person prejudiced, or distrustful: and whether it was to cover his own faults, or because

cause a Man's Mind has necessarily opposite Sentiments, he would frequently discover such Secrets as he should have concealed, and would appear just, sincere and open, at the expence even of his Relations and his Friends.

The uneasiness he conceived at seeing that Men were perswaded he was soon prejudiced by Inclination and Esteem, had so much Influence upon his Mind, that though he was inclined always to prefer his Friends, to such favours as depended upon himself, and to assist them with his Fortune, or engage himself for them; yet he always spoke with less force and boldness upon their account, than in behalf of such Persons who were known to be indifferent to, or suspected by him. Carried either by motives of Justice, or else in respect only of the Glory and Advantage of his Prince, he often did very good Offices, and procured Imployment for those who did not love him; so that some may have rejoiced at his Death, who perhaps without their own knowledge, owe the places they possess at present, to his Recommendations.

He always loved his own Family, but in the beginning he had less considerations for it than his own Preferment, and afterwards neither that, nor his Family could stand in Competition with his Glory.

In all Encounters he relieved his Relations, even beyond his Ability, and parted with some of his Inheritance in favour of them, being more touched with their necessities than his own wants.

He never boasted of what he had given, and made his Presents with a modesty very uncommon,

mon, and such as is necessary to moderate that Pride and Vanity which for the most part attend Mens Bounty: This Vertue which is not usual in old Age, was so natural to him, that even in latter years he bestow'd his money more liberally than ever. In short, under a Prince generous and Magnificent, in an Age so proper to raise great Fortunes, he died with much less Estate than he had received from his own Family.

One day when some of his Friends were talking with him concerning Riches, Rallying and making comparisons on this Subject, he told them that it was true that he could never comprehend the pleasure of keeping Chests full of Gold and Silver; that for himself, if at the years end he had any considerable sums remaining, he should be as uneasy, as if upon his return from a Feast, he should have greater served up to him. Being in the County of *March* in *Germany*, Count *Conisimar* *Marshall de Conyè*, proposed to him a way of gaining 100000 Crowns in fifteen days, by means of Contributions: he answered smilingly, that he was much obliged to him, but after having met with several such occasions before, without making any advantage of them, he could not bring himself to alter his Conduct at that Age.

All the care that he took of his own Person, was only to avoid being a Sloven, the rest depended on his Attendants, not requiring from them, either in his Personal Service, or the ordering of his House, any Care or Diligence; so that at Court as well as in the Army, one might often come into his Chamber without finding any Domestick, to whom you might apply your self.

He



He looked over his Concerns always in gross, but seldom entred into Particulars; and he was troubled that People took notice, that this Humour of his encreased, as Affairs multiplied upon him. He spoke generally with a loud Voice, clear and strong; but when he told any Secret, though of the least Consequence, he thought he could never speak low enough; and the Opinion which Men had conceived of his Distrustfulness, was so well grounded, that he seldom could be reconciled to himself for having made a Confident. He was indefatigable both in Mind and Body; his Health, after he was 40, was never interrupted but by one Fever of 8 or 10 days continuance, and by some small Fits of the Gout a little before his Death.

In Affairs of Consequence, whether easie or difficult, he still acted with the same Vigilance, never presuming on, or despairing of Success; yet more ready always to take superfluous Precautions, than omit any that were necessary. He never spared his own Labour, though he did that of other Men, as much as the Service in hand would permit him. He had always great Designs; and all his Projects of War were founded upon extraordinary Prudence, and a Foresight that looked very far. But when by Chance and the Necessity of things, he was obliged to commit himself to Fortune, he gave himself up to it with all the Gaiety and Boldness of a young Soldier. Those that serv'd under him never knew of his Designs till the very moment they were to Act them. He was more able than any Man in the World to ruine an Enemy's Army, though much inferiour to it; and to  
conclude

conclude a Campaign with Advantage, though there was all the Reason in the World to be afraid of its Success.

In the beginning of the day of a great Battle, there was nothing extraordinary to be remarked in him: but in such proportion as the Affair proceeded and became more difficult, you might see him as it were exalted, and providing for every thing with a Freedom of Mind, and Steadiness of Conduct, which few Men are Masters of in Dangers of long Continuance. However he was timorous at Court, and in his Conversation, and no very expert Manager of his common Concerns. There was likewise a remarkable Change to be seen in his Air and Behaviour: the moment that he came into an Army, he charmed every Body by a way of living gay and easie. He never shut himself up for Business, his Doors being always open; nor was there any Mark of Ostentation or Pride in his Words or Actions: but when he was reduced by Peace to a Private Life, that Suspension of true Glory which he always found in War, left some place in his Heart for the movements of another Glory not so real, which rendered his Access more difficult, even to his best Friends.

The Power of a Favourite made some Impression on his Mind; but whether retained by his own Glory, or Fear of what might follow, he always prefer'd his Liberty to the Dependencies which might advance his Fortune: and prudently keeping such Measures as were agreeable to the Posts that Men were in. He pass'd the most difficult Times without any particular Tye or Engagement. He stood upon his own Bot-  
tom,

tom, and spoke with the Liberty and Boldness of an honest Man, when-ever he thought it necessary to his own Glory or his Master's Service.

After he had gained the Battle of *Dules*, and taken *Dunkirk*, the Cardinal *Mazarine* ardently desired that he might attribute the Glory of these two great Actions to himself; he would have had the Viscount *Turenne* to write him a Letter, which should, in effect, declare, that they were owing to him alone, who had thought of, and projected all things in his Closet, and they had done nothing, but precisely executed his Orders. Perhaps there never appeared in this Minister any Passion more eager than upon this Encounter. He committed the Affair to the Count *de Moret*, a Gentleman of very good Sense, great Merit, his Favourite, and an intimate Friend of the Viscount *Turenne*.

The Court was then at *Calais*, and the Viscount *Turenne* near *Dunkirk*: The Count *de Moret* went two or three times to him, under other Pretences, but in Reality upon this Account only. *Moret* endeavoured all he could to divert the Cardinal from a Thought which agreed so little with his Condition and Character; He omitted nothing likewise which he thought might induce the Viscount *de Turenne* to compound for the Complaisance which he desired of him upon this Occasion; he (among the Difficulties of a Negotiation so well intended, which did not succeed) thought himself, at last, obliged to tell the Viscount *de Turenne* plainly, That he had Reason to fear that an absolute Refusal, would have very disadvantageous Effects upon his Fortune, since, upon the first

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Scruples

Scruples which he had made, the Cardinal shewed himself to be very much exasperated.

The Viscount *Turenne*, who could not be moved by Hopes, neither was so by Fears; he always answered as he had done already, That the Cardinal might put into History any thing that might flatter his Ambition, and make Posterity believe that he was a great Captain; but as for his own part, he would never be reproached with having given him a Title to Authorize a thing so contrary to his Honour and the Truth.

Almost at this very time, the King fell sick at *Calais*, and was so ill, that he was thought to be dead. The Cardinal, not thinking that he stood fair with the Duke of *Orleans*, who was onely Brother to the King, would assure himself of those who were about him; but he had Reason to fear they would not be very favourable to him. In this Extremity he had Recourse to the Viscount *Turenne*; his Design was to go and join him, in case he should be forc'd to retire from Court. He sent the Count *de Moret* to him, to engage him to offer himself, and to secure the Army. The Count had Order to negotiate this Affair with much Address, and rather to insinuate things, than speak 'em; but he knowing that this was the most improper Method of gaining upon the Viscount *de Turenne*, he spoke to him in his ordinary way, without any manner of Disguise. The Viscount *de Turenne* promised immediately, That he would Speak and Act publickly as a Friend to the Cardinal; that he would represent likewise to *Monsieur* when he came to the Crown, that in the Condition things stood then, it would be very dangerous to take

Affairs

Affairs out of the Hand of a Minister, who was so able and so well establish'd. The Count de Moret judging that the Cardinal would not be satisfied with this Answer, represented to Viscount Turenne all that he thought might induce him to comply with his Demands. He told him, amongst other things, that the Cardinal could never resolve to form a Party in France, and that infallibly the Queen-Mother would uphold her Fortune. That there was no doubt to be made of the Credit she had with Monsieur, nor the Protection she would give the Cardinal; and so by offering to follow blindly the Interests of this Minister, the Viscount Turenne might without any Hazard, lay such Obligations upon him, as he would always remember. The Viscount Turenne answered, That there was a great deal of probability things would go thus, but that he would never promise more than he now had offered, adding that no Advantage, how great soever, was able to oblige him to give such promises as might afterwards bring him into a Necessity either to break them, or to fall into the Misfortunes which he was now got out off.

The Cardinal was in effect so little content with this Answer, that after having several times sworn his Ruine, he said a great many extravagant things; sometime, as enraged; sometimes, as dejected: but the King grew well, and his Care, or the Continuation of the War, made the Cardinal forget, or suspend his Regretment.

He diverted himself with Men of Sense, and Letters, but had no patience with those who professed themselves to be the *Beaux Esprits*.

they had no share in his Bounties, nor he any great one in their Works.

When free from business, he used to recreate himself, and especially in his Entertainments, but without excess. He would laugh easily at pleasant Discourse and Raillery; and he himself would make use of it in his turn, but always with a great deal of Civility and Discretion. He was moved with such Writings as were natural and lively, loved to read good Books, and especially History. He made his use of it, but scarce ever spoke upon the subject.

He could not bear a moments Flattery, as such, but when it was under the appearance of a true Friendship, and such occasions of praising him were taken as fell in naturally; he took it easily, and then a Flatterer might insinuate himself into him, be establish'd in his good opinion, and reap the advantages.

He was born in the Reform'd Religion, he profess'd it more than fifty years, without being well instructed in it. At this Age he began to have some scruples, and without declaring them to any Body, he endeavoured to clear them up by his reading; but this serv'd only to multiply and strengthen them. Then he came to Conferences, but only as by way of Conversation, lest his condition might be discovered; The Queen-Mother first apprehended it, spoke to him, and declared, that besides the motives of his Salvation, there were other Temporal ones, which made her ardently desire to see him become a *Catholic*. This Discourse which would have wrought great Effects upon other Minds, set all the good motions of Viscount *Turenne* in suspense,

suspense, and threw him for several years into great indifferency of advancing further; for it is true that he was afraid, lest his Conversion should be followed by some remarkable favour, which might make the purity of his Intentions to be called in question, and bring a stain upon his Glory; but at last, urg'd by his Conscience, he declared his doubts openly, sometimes to the Bishop of *Tournay*, sometimes to the Bishop of *Condom*, and to Monsieur *de Boucherat*, Councillor of State (afterwards Chancellor of *France*) his particular Friends, in whom he placed a great confidence, but he opened himself still more freely to the Cardinal *Bouillon*, his Nephew, whom God would make an Instrument to perfect the Conversion of so great a Man. In short, being convinced that he was out of the true Church, he went to make his Abjuration to the Archbishop of *Paris*, without giving him any notice till the night before. He was there only with Monsieur *de Boucherat*, whom he had desired to Accompany him thither, but without having declared his design, till a few days before.

There have been evident proofs of the sincerity of his Conversion, during the rest of his Life, he testified it likewise by his Will, which appeared since his Death; for after having thanked God for granting him the knowledge of his Truth, he gave considerable Legacies to contribute towards the subsistence of those who should follow his Example. To this end he gave to the Poor who should be converted at *Sedan*, and the Lands thereon depending, the sum of 50000. Livers, and to the Poor that should be Converted at *Negrepelece*, the sum of 20000. Livers;



Livers; to the Poor that should be Converted at *Chastillon*; the like sum; which summs he would have to be distributed to the Poor who should be Converted in the foresaid places, or laid out in Rents for them, all at the Discretion of Cardinal *Bouillon*, and Monsieur *Boucherat*, whom he desires to be his Executors. This Will is punctually Executed in all points by the Duke of *Bouillon*, and Monsieur *Boucherat*.

The Love and Veneration which the Souldiers had always for him, were much increased in the latter Campaigns: this appeared amongst other occasions the year before his Death, when in the midst of Winter, he made an extraordinary march to attacque the Enemy at the Passage of the River *D' Ill*, in *Germany*.

All his Campaigns since the War with *Holland*, contained Prodiges of Valour and Conduct, which would furnish matter for several Volumes, should we enter into particulars; but after having escaped a multitude of Dangers for fifty Years together, which he employed in War, his Army, and that of the Enemies, facing one another, at *Salsback*, in *Germany*, He was killed by a Cannon Bullet, discharged almost at a venture, in a Place where they were raising a Battery. He received the blow in the midst of his Heart, at the same instant that he stopt his Horse to speak to Saint *Hilaire*, Lieutenant of the Artillery.

Saint *Hilaire* had one Arm carried away at the same time, and said a thing very remarkable to two of his Sons, who wept to see him in that Condition, *Alas, Children,* (said he) *you ought not to weep for me, but this Great Man,* (showing them

them the Viscount Turenne) which is the most irreparable Loss that France has ever suffered.

Perhaps there was never seen any Example of a Grief which was so great and general at the same time: and I cannot think that of the Roman People, after the Death of Marcellus, Germanicus, or Titus, could be compared to the Condition France was in upon this Occasion; Especially, it's impossible to express the Concern of the Soldiers; It appeared for several days together after his Death, to be very fresh and moving.

Those who commanded the Army having caused a Halt to be made, to hold a Council, what way they should take; the Soldiers, concerned to see the Delay of their Resolutions, began to say aloud and with one Voice, *They have nothing to do but to let la Pie*, (which was an Excellent Horse known by the whole Army, and one that the Viscount Turenne generally mounted) *go loose, and where the poor Creature stops, let them entamp there.*

In the distant Provinces, where this Prince was scarce known but by his Reputation, the News of his Death made a very surprizing Impression; the Nobility and People, for several days together, could speak of nothing else but the Greatness of their Loss. Many bewailed him, without having ever seen him. Some excited to this Grief, by the Memory of his Actions; others, in Consideration of the Services which he might still have rendered them; and all in general, as being sensible of the extraordinary Misfortune, by which so Great a Man came to his End.

At *Paris*, and the Countries thereabouts, and particularly upon the Frontiers, which were the Seat of War, the Passion was more touching and lively; because they knew him better, and were used to see him come back every Winter with a new Load of Glory. In short, it seemed as if his Loss had been the entire Defeat of an Army, or that each private Person in the whole Kingdom, had lost their best Friend, or their whole Fortune.

Since, in his Life-time, there came out a Comparison between Him and *Cæsar*, I think I may Remark, That as the small Agreement that there is between a Monarchy and a Republick, made them tread different Paths to Glory, so their Deaths bore no greater Resemblance. *Cæsar* was assassinated in the time of Peace, by his own Citizens, whom he had oppressed; and the Viscount *Turenne* lost his Life in War, with his Arms in his hand: beloved by all the World, and serving his King and Countrey, without any other Interest, than that of Glory, and the Performance of his Duty.

He began to appear in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII<sup>th</sup>, and being upheld by his Merit and Quality, he pass'd without Favour or Disgrace, all the time that Cardinal *Richieu* was Master of Affairs.

Under Cardinal *Maximilien*'s Ministry, Fortune used him variously, but for the last 20 Years of his Life, he had no Reason to complain of her.

He found a thousand Occasions of gaining such a Glory, as will be immortalized by all the Histories

Histories of *Europe* ; and he esteem'd himself so much the happier, in living under a King who had all the Qualities desirable in a Master, and who treated him with such Confidence and Esteem, that he might love him as a Friend.

I leave it to such as write his History to say, how far he extended the King's Conquests, in the last War, and what his Thoughts were, touching the Affairs in *Germany*. No one knew certainly what the Motives were, that made him take so long and difficult a March to seize that Post where he was slain ; all we can learn, is, that some hours before his Death he had promised himself great Advantages from this last Action of his Life ; and he was so far from all Presumption, that when he began to think well of his own Undertakings, other People might take his Hopes for an entire Certainty of a happy Success ; so that if those who were at the Head of the Army after his Death, have deserved Rewards and Praises, the Viscount *Turenne* being no less above them in his great Knowledge of War, than by his Quality of General : We have Reason to think, that the Event of a Design, which he had so long before premeditated, would have been much more Great and more Glorious.

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16.12

NEW  
MEMOIRS  
AND  
CHARACTERS  
Of the Two  
Great Brothers,  
THE  
DUKE of *Bouillon*,  
AND  
Mareschal *TURENNE*.

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Written in *French* by *James de Langlade*,  
BARON of *Saumieres*.

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*Made English.*

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L O N D O N,

Printed by *T. W.* for *Tho. Bennet*, at the *Half-Moon* in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, 1693.





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T O M Y

Honoured Friend

Sir *Edmund Warcupp*,  
of *Oxfordshire*, K<sup>t</sup>.

S I R,

I shall make you but a bad Return for Lending me these *Memoirs*, by sending them back in my *English*. However I did not think I could be too intent upon them, when the longer I read, and considered this *Book*, the Characters of two *such Brothers* as the Duke of *Bouillon*, and Marechal *Turenne*; raised in me a True and more Lively Idea of your *Sons*, the *Colonel*, and the *Captain*. It is true; that the *former* being

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born

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

born *Princes*, became Great *Generals*, but then they lived long in the World to obtain it : whereas the other *Two Brothers*, though cut off in their Bloom, had done more than any of such an Age could do, towards Equalling *their* Great Examples.

The Battle of *Sedan*, in which the Duke of *Bouillon* got his greatest Glory, has nothing more Considerable in it than the Action, by which he gained the Enemies Cannon : and, upon Reading this, who could not but have an Image of Colonel *Warcupp's* Bravery in the Battle of *Steynkirk*, where he drove the *French* from their Cannon, and laid his own Half-Pike upon them. In the same Battle when the Count *de Soissons* should have received the Advantage of the Victory, It is with Surprize that we find him dead. This naturally brings Captain

### *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

ptain *Warcupp* to our Remembrance, who, when *He* should have received the New Commands, which, for his Valour, the *King* designed Him, was (instead of enjoying the Reward) found mortally wounded in *His Majesty's* Service.

This, to a common Reader, may seem a melancholy and an improper Address to a *Father*, but then they must be Ignorant of the Greatness of Sir *Edmund Warcupp's* Mind, and his true Notions of Honour. *Lacedæmon* heretofore gloried in so great a Man as *Thrasibulus*, who, receiving his Son *Pitanas* dead upon a Shield in his Countrey's Service, Interred him with these Expressions: *Let other Fathers shed Tears; I'll not: This Youth died, like mine: Like a Spartan.*

*England* has Reason to boast of a Double Honour in Sir *Edmund Warcupp*, who with such an Evenness  
of

*The Epistle Dedicatory:*

of Temper, and Heroick Patience,  
could bear the Loss of *Two Sons*, so  
Young, so Brave, so very much his  
own, and so true *English Men*.

As for my own part, were I to  
be a Father, I should wish for such  
Sons; and must they die! I would  
lose them after the same manner.  
And, I am sure, that in bearing of  
my Misfortune, I could have no bet-  
ter Pattern than your self. But,  
in the Circumstances I am in, at  
present, there is nothing I am more  
Ambitious of, than to be Admitted  
amongst the Number of,

*SIR,*

Your most Faithful Friends,  
and Humble Servants,

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THE  
PREFACE.

**T**HE Memoirs, here Published, were Collected by the late James de Langlade, Baron of Saumieres, Secretary to the Council. They were found amongst his Papers after his Death; and there being some Imperfect Copies in the Hands of several Persons, who might have Printed them; his Widow, Madam de Langlade, thought it better to oblige the World with the Original; which has given Occasion to the present Edition.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
LIFE  
OF  
FREDERICK MAURICE  
*De la Tour d' Auvergne,*  
DUKE de BOVILLON.

**T**Here is no need of any Motive but Vanity alone to make the generality of Men commit to Writing such remarkable Passages as come to their Knowledge: For their aim is not only at present Glory, but the recommending of their Memory to future Ages. But as for my Self, I can protest, that these are not the Motives that induce me to the undertaking of these Memoirs. And that which makes me believe, that I give a sound judgment of my self, upon this occasion, is, that I had never began 'em, if I had not put an ex-

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ream

stream violence upon my own Nature, and look'd upon the finishing of 'em as a duty indispensable. Let a Man take all the caution he can, ~~there will~~ happen out a thousand inconveniencies from such sort of undertakings. One of the wisest Men of our Age, and of the first Quality in the Kingdom, endanger'd his Family by the unfaithfulness of a Transcriber, and the malice of a Person that had corrupted him. Besides, let a Man have whatever design he please of writing only for himself, and letting nothing appear in publick till after his Decease, yet I see plainly, that ones Opinion often alters; and that either under the pretence of placing a great confidence in some Persons, or taking their advice, one willingly searches after Confidants, to the end that one may find Admirers; so that among the great number of Friends, whom our own self-Love or presumption makes choice of in these Encounters, one always finds some indiscreet and unfaithful Person or other, who reveals such disagreeable truths as will never admit of Pardon: and it is impossible, without speaking of several Persons, to write the Memoirs of a Man's Life who bore the principal part in so many great Transactions. Besides, to speak conformably to my own inclinations, I should chuse any other employment rather than this, to fill up that idle time which my misfortunes for some years last past have thrown upon my hands. But the Memory of the Duke de Bouillon is so dear to me, and I have so great a veneration for it, that I daily reproach my self for having so long defer'd the publishing of what I know concerning so great a Person.

I have

I have endeavour'd, but without Effect, to learn something of his Infancy; for I should have been willing to have spoken of it; being perswaded, by several Observations I have made, That generally even in that tender Age of Mankind, there are some lights given towards the discovery of what may afterwards be expected from them. And when-ever those to whom the care of their Education is committed, are deficient in the Knowledge of their Capacity, the Qualifications of their Mind, their Genius; and, in short, their peculiar Inclinations, and their Nature in general; it must be either for want of Light or Application. Nor do I doubt but that we are often led, either to good or evil, and indeed to any sort of business, according to the first Impressions and Examples that are given us. Upon this very account, I cannot sufficiently wonder at the little Care that is taken in the Education of Children. For whether we regard Religion, as becomes every true Christian, or consult humane Prudence only; I think there is nothing in the World, that is of equal Consequence. I know some Tempers appear so manifest, and their Inclination to evil is so violent, that it is almost impossible to alter them; but there are very few, that by great Care and due Management may not be retrieved, if we begin to set about it betimes. You see how *Seneca* and *Pyrrhus* were for some time able to prevail over the cruel Inclinations of *Nero*. They might, perhaps, have made an honest Man of him, if, as a private Person, he had been subject to the Laws, and oblig'd to raise a Fortune by his Virtuous Actions: But the Great-

ness of his Birth, placing him above any thing that he might be afraid of, and beyond any thing he could farther desire, he followed the whole Current of his wicked Inclinations. But, I perceive, That my Discourse has already ran too far upon a Subject, which has no very great Relation to the Matter which I propose to Treat of.

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THE

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T H E  
First B O O K.

Frederick Maurice *de la Tour d'Auvergne*,  
*was Son of Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne*,  
*Duke of Bouillon, Sovereign of Sedan, by*  
*Isabella of Nassau.*

**I**T would be unnecessary for me to speak of the House of the Duke of *Bouillon*: All *France* knows, That both for its Antiquity, and the Grandeur of its Original, it is one of the most Illustrious among the Chief Families in the Kingdom: And Strangers are well enough inform'd of it by their frequent Alliances with the Principal Families of *Europe*, and by the Sovereignties of *Bouillon* and *Sedan*, which fell into it in the last Age.

I shall say but very little likewise of the Duke *de Bouillon*, during his Minority, because I have not so exact Memoirs, as I could have desired, and I will advance nothing, which I have not seen, or am very well assured of.

He compleated his Studies at *Sedan*, where Mr. *du Moulin*, the *Minister*, was his Tutor; a Man very much esteem'd for his Learning. He bred him up in the Reformed Religion, the

## 6 MEMOIRS of the

*Duke*, his *Father*, and his *Mother*, being both Protestants. His first Journey from thence, was into *Holland*, when he was about sixteen Years old. This Countrey was then the Seat of War, and in the Opinion of all the World, the best School to learn that Art in.

His Uncle, the Prince of *Orange*, who was esteemed one of the greatest Generals of his Time, made him begin with a Colours in the Regiment of *Maison-Neuve*.

I have heard say, That, at first, there appeared little extraordinary in him, and that indeed he was something slow in displaying himself. He spoke little, kept himself reserv'd, and among his own Domesticks. But at last he made himself sufficiently known, and gain'd a great Reputation, as soon as he began to have some Understanding in the Affairs of War, and the Countrey. This show'd, That his Silence, and Inclination to so peculiar a Reservedness, proceeded only from his extraordinary Natural Parts, which would not suffer him to speak of things without understanding them.

He then became Curious to that degree, that he was inquisitive about ev'ry thing, and searched into the Niceties of the smallest Matters, that he might know 'em thoroughly. But in satisfying his Curiosity, he never apply'd himself, but to such Persons with whom he was most familiar. He then permitted himself to make a small sally towards the Pleasures of Youth; and, amongst the rest, that of frequent Entertainments, in which, though He was always magnificent, yet it was without Excess.

In a short time he became active and vigilant, and familiar even to Popularity, when it suited with his Designs: a Talent, which I have seen him make an admirable Use of, in the following Course of his Life, upon very important Occasions.

The Prince of *Orange*, seeing him thus altered, and finding, that he had a strong Propensity to War; began to take a little more Care, in informing him. He commanded him out, upon all Occasions, where any thing might be learn'd, or any Honour gain'd. The Duke de *Bouillon* answered his Designs and Hopes with that Advantage; that I have heard him then commend him to divers Persons, for having signaliz'd his Courage and Conduct in several Encounters.

One of the most Considerable was at *Boisleduc*. The Prince of *Orange* having besieg'd it, the long Resistance, which the Garrison made, had so weakned and dispirited his Army, that, not thinking himself able to hinder a Convoy, which the Enemy were sending, from entering the Town; there was a Resolution taken secretly in the Council to raise the Siege. The Duke of *Bouillon* having Notice of it, earnestly requested, That he might be permitted to go and encounter this Convoy. He laid before the Prince of *Orange* the Methods, by which he would be guided in this Design. The Prince finding they had been extremely well contriv'd, propos'd 'em to the Council, where it was resolv'd, That the Event of 'em should be try'd. In Pursuance of this, the Duke took such Troops as he had demanded; He led them, by an extraordinary



## 8 MEMOIRS of the

traordinary March, to find the Enemy in a place where he had projected before to fight 'em, because it was very advantageous to himself. There he attack'd 'em, defeated 'em, took their Commander Prisoner, and brought the Convoy, which was design'd for the Relief of the Place, into the Prince of *Orange's* Camp.

This Action rais'd the Duke to a great Reputation, and began to make him look'd upon as an Extraordinary Man. He gain'd the Hearts of the Soldiery, by the Opinion they conceived of his Courage, and his great Genius for Warlike Affairs; but more especially by that Natural Goodness which appear'd in all his Actions, by his Modesty, in speaking of himself, and his Familiarity, when he did not command them. He had a good Mien, but could not be said to be handsome. He was proper, had a high Forehead, his Eyes full and sparkling; Eye-brows large and thick, but at a convenient distance. There was nothing rough either in his Mind or Humour; yet something great and fierce both in his Air and Tread. He knew even the smallest Officers, and, that they might not be ignorant of it, he affected to call 'em by their Names: a way of treating Inferiours, very politick and becoming a great Lord.

The States General, and those of the Province, could not long continue silent in his Praises, which we may look upon as the more sincere, because they grounded them upon their own glory and advantage; for this incident caus'd *Boisleduc* to be Surrendred, which was a place very important to them, and added much to the reputation of their Arms. They began  
to

to reward the Services of the Duke of *Bouillon* with the Government of *Mastricht*, which they gave him. The Prince of *Orange* show'd great satisfaction in all these Proceedings, though perhaps he wou'd not have beheld 'em without uneasiness and jealousy, if they had not rais'd thoughts in him suitable to his own Interests. He was now very old, and had but one Son, and he in the Cradle, so that not hoping to be able to live long enough to see him of a sufficient Age to fill his Place, and finding all People well affected to the Duke of *Bouillon*, he look'd upon him as a Man in whose hands he might depolite the Government of the States upon his own Decease; and to link him still more closely to him than he was already by his Relation, as a Nephew, he resolv'd to make him his Son-in-Law, but he thought it Prudence to wait another opportunity to declare this to him.

Things stood in this condition, when in Carnival time, the Troops being in Winter Quarters, the Duke of *Bouillon* would go *incognito* to see *Brussels*. This Journey which he undertook at first as a thing indifferent, only for diversion, and to satisfy his Curiosity, did afterwards change the whole Scheme of his Fortune, and by a train of accidents became the source of all the happiness and misfortunes of his Life. So that it is every day apparent, that the Fate of the greatest Men and most flourishing States, turns upon things which at first view seem of no consequence, and we often find, that if that which we ardently desire had happen'd, we should be miserable; whereas all our happiness often proceeds from this, That the things we are afraid of come to pass

pass in spight of us. Notwithstanding all this, we never leave projecting, and attributing the good success to our selves, though we are often ignorant of the Causes, and can never foresee the effects. If to such evident demonstrations of our Vanity, and the weakness of our Understandings, we do but add those thoughts which we ought to have as good Christians, we should undoubtedly show more Courage when we ly under unhappy Circumstances, because we should see the hand of God in them: and we should have less uneasiness while our designs are depending, because we should never frame any but with an entire submission to the Disposal of Providence.

One of the most splendid Courts in *Europe*, was at *Brussels*, when the Duke of *Bouillon* came thither. The Duke of *Orleans* had retreated thither, and had been follow'd by some Persons of the first Quality in the Kingdom, and a great Number of the Nobility. The *Infanta Isabella* likewise had drawn thither the Principal Families of the *Low Countries*, of which she was Governess. Here it was, That the Duke of *Bouillon* saw *Mademoiselle de Bergh*, at a Ball. She was a Person of great Birth, of a surprizing Beauty, had the Reputation of much Wit and Prudence, but a *Catholick*, and without any Fortune. The Duke of *Bouillon* having learn'd her Name, found that she was his Relation; but there was a Motive, stronger than that of Blood, which made him ambitious of being known to her before his Departure. The Visits which he made her, engag'd him still farther. However he departed, without speaking of the Impressi-  
on

on she had made upon his Soul, though she easily perceiv'd it. The Report of this Passion, was soon spread in *Holland*, by those who had born him Company to *Brussels*: and because no one could imagine that it would come to a Marriage, for abundance of Reasons, which destroyed the very Thoughts of such a thing; People spoke of it only as the Adventure of a Traveller, and that before his Face. But soon after he return'd to *Brussels*, in very great danger, and upon a slight Pretence. This second Journey, made it apparent, That the Duke was more in Love, than he was thought to be. At his Arrival he found a Discourse of a Match between *Mademoiselle de Bergh*, and the Count de *Bossu*. Honour and Jealousie join'd themselves with Love, and forc'd the Duke to declare his Designs of Marriage. He return'd by the way of *Sedan*, to propose it to the Dutchess his Mother. But she was the more averse to it, because she knew her Brother, the Prince of *Orange*, had design'd him for one of his Daughters, who was afterwards married to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*: Besides his Mother had always resolv'd he should marry one of her own Religion, and indeed he might have had his Choice of any Protestant Lady in *France*, nor had he been a Match below any Foreigner.

Upon his Return to *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange*, and his real Friends, us'd all their Endeavours to perswade him from this Marriage, and he, having Spirit and Ambition enough, often attack'd himself with very potent Arguments. But these contributed only to his Uneasiness: For when Absence and Difficulties can't efface the

the first Impressions of Love, they render the Passion so strong, That nothing can be able to change it.

When the Duke of *Bouillon* had continued about a Year in this Condition; his Mind in suspense, and his Soul divided, by the Opposition which his Love made to his Fortune; he at last fix'd his Resolution, and the Dutches his Mother, and the Prince of *Orange*, having not been able to hinder the Marriage, were forced to approve it, when it was consummated. Love has often made the greatest Men neglect the Advantages which Fortune has offer'd them, and that in a much riper Age than the Duke of *Bouillon* was yet arriv'd to. I shall speak but one Word in his Favour, and to the Honour of his Dutches, That I verily believe he never repented his having married her. The Duke having tarried some time at *Sedan*, whither he immediately carried his Lady, went with her into *Holland*, and there Beauty and Merit gain'd so far the Ascendant, That every one approv'd the Choice, which they had before so much condemn'd.

From the *Hague* the Duke *de Bouillon* went to *Mastricht*, to give his Orders, as Governour, and afterwards returned to *Sedan*, with a Design to tarry there some time. His first business was, to gain an exact Insight into his own Concerns, which he effected with the greater Ease, because never Man did things in better Order. This appeared even in the smallest Matters: It was not in his Power to look over 'em superficially, as Persons of Quality generally do, who think it a Vertue, to place a blind Confidence in their  
 Servants,

Servants, and never perceive their own Ruine, till it is past Remedy : As for him, he saw and examined all, yet without that Spirit of Meanness, by some call'd good Husbandry, into which Men often fall by too great Exactness : so near to one another are Vertues and their opposite Vices.

But as for these lesser Affairs, they were instantly laid aside, when more Important Business requir'd his Attendance. He was very industrious, but the pains he took were never uneasie to him. He never retreated at the Prospect of any Labour, how great soever it might be, either of Body or Mind ; but indeed he was the same in every thing ; he would be so intent upon his very Diversions, that one would think he had been made to pursue them only. In private Company he had so complaisant an Air, and would relax his Mind so far, that it would then be hard to perceive his more Noble Qualities : and yet to have seen him upon some great and publick Action, one would have thought it impossible for him to reduce himself to a private Station, though this was easie to him when-ever he thought it necessary.

His Affairs at *Sedan*, were not so many as to take up all his time, so he applied himself to reading, and having fallen upon *Calvin's* Works, his Mother was extremely pleased with it, being confident, That they would be a means to confirm him in his Religion. But when she saw, that from reading he pass'd to doubting, and from Doubts to a Desire of having them clear'd, she began to take the Alarm, especially when she was told by *du Moulin*, That the Duke  
had

had propos'd to him the holding a Conference in his Presence, with a certain Religious Person, who was thought to be very well vers'd in the Controversie: then she beg'd of him to relinquish that Design, and demonstrated to him both her Grief and Fears.

The Duke of *Bouillon* had always had a great Tendernefs and Respect for his Mother, and his Fear of disobliging her, was the greater and more just, because he had so much displeas'd her with his Marriage.

These Considerations delay'd the Conference for some time, though the Duke did ardently desire it, because *du Moulin* had urg'd severall things against the Catholick Religion, which the Duke of *Bouillon* was not able to answer. He spent some Months in these Circumstances, but being no longer able to lie under such Uncertainties, in an Affair of so great Consequence, he Resolv'd, to be plain with *du Moulin*, and to speak to him as his Prince. He told him then, That he would propound his Doubts in the Presence of the Father he had propos'd before, and another understanding Person, that he had sent for to *Sedan*: but he charg'd him, Not to let his Mother have any intimation of it. There were several secret Conferences held, after which the Duke was perfectly convinced of the Errours of his Perswasion. He made his Abjuration of it, but it was in private, that he might not offend his Mother; hoping, by this Management, to endeavour, in time, to bring her over to the Knowledge of the Truth. He set himself to this, with all the Application imaginable; and we may imagine he would leave nothing undone,

done, in so important an Affair, whose Success would spare him so much Trouble.

It would be too tedious for me to relate here, what pass'd after this, during the space of two Years, in which he continued to gain farther Light and more ample Instructions. I shall only say this, That I believe, No Man of his Quality was ever better instructed, or more perswaded of his Religion.

In the mean time, he receiv'd Advice, That the *Spaniards* were marching to *Mastricht*, with a Design to besiege it. He was to lose no time, but immediately to throw himself into the Town. He departed the same moment, but found it invested. However, by good Fortune, he got in, though not without Danger. He defended it with a great deal of Bravery, and signaliz'd himself by frequent Sallies: so that the Prince of *Orange* having gain'd time to join his Troops; and to march; the Enemy, upon his Approach, immediately rais'd the Siege.

In this Place the Duke of *Bouillon* met with *Beringuan*, for whom he had a great Esteem and Friendship. He was a Man of Worth: Cardinal *Richieu* had banish'd him, because he was in Favour with *Lewis* the XIII<sup>th</sup>. and because He had not only a great deal of Loyalty, but as much Bravery and Conduct.

The Duke of *Bouillon* made him the Confident of his Abjuration; and withal, told him, That to the present minute he had kept it as a great Secret, because of the Dutchess his Mother; but that, seeing (though not without extreme Concern) neither Time, nor any thing else that he could do, would retrieve her from her

Errours,